T. E. THOMAS

ANTI-SLAVERY CORRESPONDENCE

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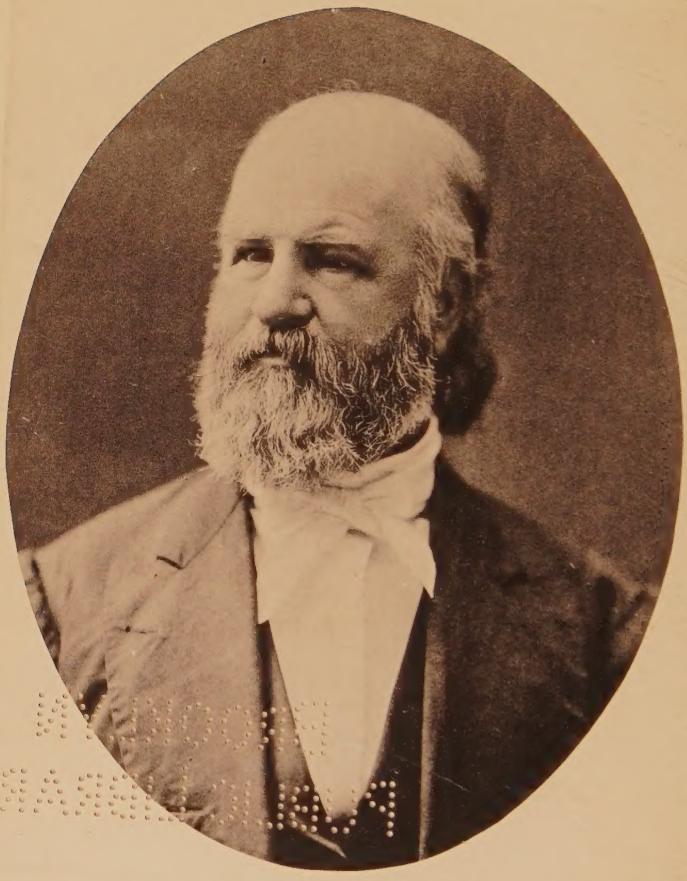

Correspondence *of* Thomas Ebenezer Thomas

MAINLY RELATING TO THE

ANTI-SLAVERY CONFLICT IN OHIO,

ESPECIALLY IN THE

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

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"The truth, which in our case, has been the suffering truth, has certain paramount rights; among these, the right to assert itself to be the truth, and to have always been the truth."

—*E. D. MacMaster.*

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"The true life of a man is in his letters. . . . . Not only for the interest of a biography, but for arriving at the inside of things, the publication of letters is the true method. Biographers varnish, they assign motives, they conjecture feelings, they interpret Lord Burleigh's nods; but contemporary letters are facts."—Dr. Newman to his sister, May 18, 1863.

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The notes in this volume, mostly biographical, are written by Alfred A. Thomas.

PREFACE.

The reason why these pages are now put in print appears below:

"PROF. ALFRED H. UPHAM,
MY DEAR SIR:
I recall the meeting of the Dayton Miami Alumni, when you came last, and read a few pages of what some one prepared to publish for the coming Centennial in June. You should have come first; for we all wished to hear what you had no due time to read. I want a copy of the few pages you read; it touches matters that I have long had an interest in.
I may mail you some information relating to the subject, or print and send it to you.
With much respect, I beg to remain,
Very truly,
A. A. THOMAS,"

February 17, 1809 — June 12-17, 1909

The Centennial of Miami University
Oxford, Ohio

The Joint Committee on Arrangements, Representing
Trustees, Alumni and University Faculties

Chairman, A. H. Upham, Oxford, Ohio
Secretary, B. S. Bartlow, Hamilton, Ohio

April 22, 1909.

A. A. THOMAS, ESQ.,
Dayton, Ohio.
Dear Sir:
I send you a copy of the chapter to which you referred so kindly in your letter. The entire MSS. of the book is now in the printer's hands, and I hope that the completed work will measure up to the idea you have formed of this first chapter.
Very truly yours,
A. H. Upham."

The completed publication of the Centennial Committee of Miami University I have not seen: all presumptions are in its favor. Most of what appears in its Chapter I, on "Pioneer Days," is well enough; but through the concluding pages there runs a vein of ridicule; and they

present, I submit, no fair picture of the character, quality and record of the first three Presidents, and of two of the Professors of the first twenty-five years of the University's life.

"At the head of the list stands the somewhat rawboned and ungainly figure of President Bishop." * * * He had many friends, high cheek bones and friendly eyes. Both he and President E. D. MacMaster, later, had "the mantle of authority stripped from shoulders not yet stooped with age," and because they could not maintain discipline. * * * Prof. William H. McGuffey had "two passions which consumed his young life,—the preaching of the gospel and the education of the child-mind." He was "a cold, unapproachable man who wanted his students to drill every morning in public oratory at 5:00 A. M." * * * He wore "a stove pipe hat and a solemn suit of shining black bombazine; and the Darrtown congregation that he supplied, were impressed by the glassy sheen of his garments."

When Doctor Scott returned from "Carey's premature project of the Farmer's College," "Ben Harrison was in his train when Doctor S. gathered about them a circle of demure and bewitching maidens." * * *

"At this time, the extreme abolitionists were lifting up their voices throughout the land. A part of them in the Presbyterian church demanded the immediate exclusion of all slave-holding members. Doctor Junkin demurred. He was a staunch union man, and personally opposed to slavery, but he believed that emancipation should come by slow and gradual process, based on a scheme of deportation. In a session of Presbytery, he expressed himself succinctly in a few well-chosen words requiring some ten hours in their delivery and at once a new enemy camped at his gates. A man who took ten blessed hours to prove that slave-holding Southerners would find their names recorded on the Book of Life was not fit custodian of their children's characters, said the abolitionists. The allied opposition was too much for Doctor Junkin and he withdrew."

"At Miami, Doctor Junkin was succeeded by an ardent abolitionist, Erasmus D. MacMaster."* * * "He was a very painful preacher, and his ponderous antitheses and periods searched the heart of weighty questions as they deliberately rolled from his tongue." * * * *

Troubles followed. * * * "But now the work was ruined, the student body scattered, and the institution crippled. The splendid spirit of Doctor MacMaster was broken for the time, and he retired from the University. With the brilliant, popular and prosperous administration of President Anderson, Miami entered on her second quarter century of active life, secure, efficient, optimistic. Pioneering days were done forever."

I have condensed from various pages, but the reader will have the official publication, to test or verify the substantial accuracy of my quotations.

"Honor thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God has given thee."

That is a commandment to be remembered by more persons than escaped Presbyterians like me. On Centennial birthdays, it should be remembered by quasi-public corporations for educational purposes.

Thomas E. Thomas was graduated at Miami in the class of 1834, after having been there five years. In 1892, his sons prepared for publication, with notes written by them, what appears on the title page of this volume. It had an introduction by the Rev. S. F. Scovel, D. D., then President of Wooster University.

The MSS. was laid aside " for the ninth ripening year :" then it was considered by his sons and grandsons, and the conclusion reached not to publish. "Everybody is dead, and the sons and daughters do not care for such matters."

This chapter on "Pioneer Days" made me open and read that box of dusty papers. Dr. Thomas's sons have published no book and do not know how to edit one. But Doctors Bishop, MacMaster, and Scott, and Professor McGuffey too, were my father's friends: I feel I hold a brief to their memory, and now is the time to print it.

Only a third part of these MSS. and letters are here published. The reader who cares for Miami only must excuse a somewhat awkward presentation of matter prepared for another purpose. Material for an adequate history of the anti-slavery conflict in the Presbyterian Church, and of the early days of Miami University too, still exists in the homes of her early graduates: and here is some contribution for the use of whoever in the future, will come, able and ready to tell the story.

The awkwardness above confessed lies in part in inability to exclude closely interwoven matter which does not relate to Miami University. As I rely also much on the testimony of my father, a few additional letters of his are given, of use here only to exhibit his character as a witness, and competency to express an opinion.

The liberty has been taken, also, to add one or two brief letters to Dr. Thomas from his mother. Some may think to do so is impertinent; that when they see a treetop, they know all about it, regardless of what soil its roots run down into.

These "Notes", written seventeen years ago, in so far as they mention contemporary living persons, are not up to date. This is necessarily so, for my brother, the Rev. John H. Thomas, is dead, and I am not up to date myself.

I know too little to criticize Miami University during the past twenty years; but enough to believe it is doing creditably a most practical work, and in fulfillment of the high aims of its founders. Dr. Benton is a worthy successor of Miami's early presidents; and his faculty and helpers deserve the respect of all who have inherited a love of Miami. That the compiler of this Centennial memorial should fall into some error is the fault of those who have withheld data needed to give true lines to the picture. Only one side of a contention has been told: it was as if a case half argued had gone by default. Dr. Junkin's biography by his brother is the authority generally at hand, and the story of the Seminaries by Dr. Halsey, is as fair as possible, when he omits what he wished had not been done or said.

In fact, at an early date, no small group of friends realized the consequence of these conditions: they met at Oxford and deputed Dr. Thornton A. Mills to give an address on Dr. Bishop, and my father to

write his biography; Dr. T. did his task well: my father gathered inadequate but salient material: I hold a crumbling memorandum sent him from Crawfordsville in 1855, by Rev. John Thomson, founder of Wabash College, who gathered with filial hand, in bound pamphlets, Dr. Bishop's many publications, during twenty years in Kentucky; the paper ends thus:

"May the Lord prosper your endeavors to keep the grace of God shed upon that man from being forgotten as if hid under a bushel.

Your brother in the best of bonds,
John Thomson.

P. S. Opportunity to send the books sooner failed; and I had to wait to get some person going that I could trust. It would cost fifty cents to send the books by the cars."

If one now can read between the lines of these letters, "*res angusta domi*," he will learn in part why the writers did not make due publication of what they knew justice to their memories might require in years to come.

Alfred A. Thomas.

Dayton, Ohio, May 1909.

In 1892 Dr. S. F. Scovel wrote an introduction for a publication of this Correspondence. As over half of the letters are not now printed, I take the liberty to append these paragraphs only, of what he wrote.

PART OF INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY DR. SCOVEL.

There are two elements in the book, the biographical and the autobiographical, the one in the notes and the other in the letters. It is high praise to say that the first is worthy of the second. Evidently no pains have been spared to bring together most valuable information concerning the authors of the correspondence, and to supply side lights wherever necessary. The judgments expressed, for which the author of the notes is responsible, are worthy of attention even from those who might be inclined to differ here or there. They are, in general, as kindly meant as they are decided. The book would be much less useful than it promises to be without these addenda.

1. We need wait no longer for the perspective of time. Nearly sixty years (1834-93) is time-distance enough. The main results are now so plain we cannot mistake the outlines of judgment concerning those whose travail of soul had so much to do with the latter birth of great events.

2. The period covered by this correspondence imparts to it a unique interest. Earlier the work here related could not have been done. Later would have been too late. A little away from the actual pioneer work which had either been already accomplished or was being carried forward by others, these actors were called to the noble task of moulding a sentiment which should be able to resist the gathering force of avarice stimulated by gain and then re-enforced by fundamental misreading of our national Constitution, and by deplorably mistaken exegesis of the Scriptures.

3. No one can read this volume without being touched with what he must read (mainly between the lines and by fewest hints) concerning the self-denial with which every step of the anti-slavery propaganda was accompanied. The money seemed *all* to have a pro-slavery ring about it. Small incomes and young families made plain living with this high thinking. But even so, generosity and justice went hand in hand. To help students, to hold meetings, to print appeals, to sustain journals, to attend Conventions—the money to do all these things was found by some means or other. And this was done for years and done when a far different thing and the more comfortable thing might have been done.

4. Never were better illustrations furnished of the perplexities of good men as to methods. Common aims do not bring

always unity as to instrumentalities. In this correspondence emerge the ever-recurring questions of third-party organization, of protesting secession from the church, of the minister's relation to moral questions in politics, the advisability of special organs against the more widely diffused ordinary press, the employment of agents and the rank of men who can be persuaded to enter upon such work. They seemed to encounter these difficulties with skill born of sincerity in a common and controlling purpose. In the light of subsequent events they seem to have decided wisely. They were widely separated (considering the circumstances) and yet they wrought efficiently as is proven by the substantial unity maintained in their churches.

5. Nothing is more noticeable than the wise, temperate and earnestly religious appeals for action against slavery which were put forth during these years. They observed as careful a balance in motives as they did in means. They were not Garrisonians, nor unbelievers of any type. They professed and advocated only such motives as grew out of love to God and man. They refuted the slanders sometimes uttered against the religion of Christ, even when they were called to rebuke the fearful apostasy of many professed Christians, and the apathy and finally the complicity of the larger portion of the Church of Christ.

6. It is interesting to note how they found in the Scriptures the very help they needed when it seemed the arch-contrivance of the wicked one to wrest this from them. They fed their faith on its promises to the poor and oppressed as they wrestled against its perversion into a bulwark of oppression. They vindicated its teaching and then leaned upon its assurances. They had that sublime confidence in God, amid unnumbered difficulties and frequent reverses, which showed that they "had been with Jesus". They surely had "fainted" except as they believed. Dr. Thomas's oft-repeated "The Lord reigneth", was earlier than Garfield's utterance in New York after the assassination of 1865, "God reigns and the government at Washington still lives".

7. If any say that the little things indicating aroused feeling and differing judgment among men now passed on together to the better world, ought not to be preserved in print, there is at least this justification—that nothing great will ever be accomplished by imperfectly sanctified instrumentalities without "much disputation". We are still in the twilight and have our work to do under essentially the same conditions as those which they knew. We may learn from them on all sides. And, surely, the lesson cannot be missed in these records that we are to be tolerant and patient and in honor esteeming others better than ourselves.

Sylvester F. Scovel.

Wooster University, Ohio,
December 25, 1892.

To

THOMAS H. THOMAS.

If for lack of literary skill, which the writer wants in compiling this volume, his defense of Dr. Bishop fails; the grandson of Thomas E. Thomas must take the matter up. You have the precedent for sixty year intervals. But get ready: tell your son the duty inheres in our family, and runs by primogeniture. I bid him go to the next Centennary at Miami University, and rub off any moss that may have gathered over the memory of her first President.

INTERPOLATION.

SOMETHING TO REMEMBER AT MIAMI'S CENTENNIAL.

Dartmouth for years was a measley college. With a motto, "Vox clamantis in deserto," it started as a mission school for Indians, and failed, as the Oxford students' early mission band "failed" when trying to Christianize Indians on the Wabash. Indeed, for more than thirty years there was little to it but noble effort and small results. Like Miami, it had only land which was sold for no price; and had neither dormitories, nor apparatus, nor any library but theological discards from English homes. Except for persistency as a fighter, Dr. Bishop was a greater man than Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, the first President of Dartmouth,—greater in nearly all things that Wheelock was good in. Wealth and culture too, avoided Hanover, for the coast region where it felt more respectable. Such conditions cause a "lack of discipline." The students loaded a 4th of July cannon and blew in the chapel door, and were "dissatisfied" when fined for repairs. In infancy, Sovereign States have small maternal instinct for educational brats, no matter how honorably begotten. The legislature of New Hampshire took a hand, and ousted the corporation with old Wheelock on top of it, and put in its own appointees. They said as Matthew Arnold did of Lincoln, "He lacked distinction," and took possession of nearly everything except the corporation seal which Wheelock carried on his person. The Supreme Court of the State confirmed the ouster. Then old Dr. Wheelock thought of a graduate who was poor when the college was poor; but born in a log cabin himself, was not ashamed of the humble conditions of his alma mater. This alumnus, not yet much known, took the case. In the Supreme Court of the United States, Daniel Webster in great argument, wrung from the court a decision that saved the college, and has been complained of as a permanent obstruction in the jurisprudence of this country.

The attorneys for the State spoke of Dartmouth as "not amounting to much anyhow." Webster closed his peroration by replying, "They say this is a little college, but there are those who love it,"—then he could not go on. When he saw the kind face of the Chief Justice beaming upon him, he turned and added, "and now when she is standing like Caesar in the Senate House, and these men reiterating stab upon stab, I would not for my life have her turn to me and exclaim, *"Et tu, quoque, mi fili."*

New Hampshire's lawyers were concerned to notice that John Marshall's eyes were misty so he could not read. They afterwards complained Webster had "unfairly influenced the court." In fact, they were "hoist by their own petard."

Founded as claimed in 1769, in the first twenty-five years, Dartmouth accomplished far less than Miami did. Doctor Eleazer Wheelock is now one of the honored men in New England college annals. His name would never be heard of but for one thing. He trained up a student who was able to protect him in his need, as Dr. Bishop did not.—A. A. T., May, 1909.

CHRONOLOGY ANTI-SLAVERY CONTEST.

1836. Pro-Slavery mobs in Cincinnati destroyed James G. Birney's presses, and threatened him.

1840. Harrison elected President.

1845. Annexation of Texas.

1846-8. War with Mexico.

1850. Fugitive slave law passed.

1854. Missouri compromise repealed.

1856. Fremont nominated for President.

1857. Dred Scott decision.

1857. Lecompton Constitution adopted; and struggle in Kansas.

1858. Debates between Lincoln and Douglas.

1860. Lincoln nominated.

1861. Bombardment of Fort Sumpter.

1866. Secty. of State Seward, formally announces final extinction of slavery in United States.

In Round Numbers, THE LIBERTY-FREE SOIL-vote was or became as follows:

1840	Birney	7,100
1844	Birney	62,300
1848	Van Buren / Gerrit Smith	300,000
1852	John P. Hale	155,900
1856	Fremont	1,341,000
1860	Lincoln	1,900,000

MIAMI UNIVERSITY.

Dates connected with matters in this correspondence.

1809. Legislative act establishes Miami University.

1810. Legislature directed college to be located.

1817. University organizing and buildings going up.

1823. Main buildings completed.

1824. Faculty organized. Prof. Bishop, then Vice-President and Professor of Nat. Philosophy of Transylvania University elected President. College opening in November with twenty students.

1825. President Bishop inaugurated.

1826. Wm. H. McGuffey chosen Professor of Languages, Philosophies, and General Criticism.

1828. John W. Scott elected Professor of Mathematics and Nat. Philosophy.

1829. Thos. E. Thomas entered Miami: graduated in class 1834.

1832. Professors Sam'l W. McCracken and Thomas Armstrong began.

1836. Professor McGuffey resigned. Succeeding year Samuel Galloway, Chauncey N. Olds, tutors.

1840. Dr. Bishop in the fall removed. Dr. John C. Young of Danville, Ky., elected President. Prof. Scott continuing; and Dr. Bishop remaining as Professor till '45.

1841. Dr. Junkin elected and took his chair in April. Dr. Bishop resigned.

1845. Dr. Junkin resigned. E. D. McMaster elected.

1849. Dr. McMaster resigned. Dr. Wm. C. Anderson elected.

1854. Dr. Anderson resigned and Dr. John W. Hall elected.

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I

Organization of the first anti-slavery society at Miami. Its officers, "plans and principles". Main object "to directly affect the Christian community," and in non-slaveholding states.

"Minutes of the first Anti-Slavery Society, formed in Miami University, 12 June 1834. Members: Jared M. Stone, W. S. Rogers, J. Porter, E. Bullard, Alex McKinney, Dan'l Gilmer, Tho. E. Thomas, Colin McKinney, and others.

Miami University, June 12th, 1834.

At 10 o'clock A. M., a meeting was held by a portion of the students in this place, to take into consideration the condition of the oppressed people of color throughout the United States.

W. S. Rogers was called to the chair. After solemn prayer, several persons present briefly expressed their views of the subject under consideration; when it was unanimously resolved, that we organize ourselves into an Anti-Slavery Society.

A committee was then appointed to draft a constitution, and present it at an adjourned meeting. Adjourned to meet on Tuesday evening next, at 7 o'clock P. M.

Tuesday, June 17th.

The Society met. M. E. W. Bullard in the chair. The committee presented the following constitution, which was adopted:

The following is respectfully submitted to the public as the plans and principles of the Anti-Slavery Society of Miami University.

1. Believing our cause to be not only the cause of justice and humanity, but also the cause of God, we hope in all that we do, to be governed by the spirit of the Bible, to practice meekness and forbearance, and to rely upon the Sovereign of the Universe for aid and success.

2. While it is our desire to inform the ignorant, to influence the intelligent and thinking part of our fellow citizens, on the subject of Negro Slavery, it is our object more immediately and directly to affect the Christian Community.

3. We wish the citizens of our non-slaveholding states to feel deeply the importance of the abolition of slavery; to feel that it is their duty not to look on as unconcerned and silent spectators, but "to be up and doing"; "to cry aloud and spare not"; to act as patriots and philanthropists, as men deeply interested in the welfare of our whole country.

After adopting the constitution the following persons were chosen to fill the offices therein specified:

Pres. J. M. Stone.	Sec. W. S. Rogers.	Treas. J. Porter.
	Corresponding Com.	
E. W. Bullard.	A. McKinney.	D. Gilmer.

Old and early Emancipationists in this country. Their names and dates. Data about them by Dr. Tuttle, President of Wabash College. Theo. D. Weld and Dr. Gamaliel Bailey. Weld's method of assault on slavery.

NOTE. From a paper written by the Rev. Dr. Jos. F. Tuttle, President of Wabash College, we condense the following statement:

"If one goes back to the old Emancipationists of this country, he will find among them Jonathan Edwards, younger; Dr. Hopkins of New York; Rev. Jacob Green of Hanover, N. J., father of Dr. Ashbel Green; Benjamin Franklin, and a great many more. If we recur to the modern abolition movement, we find first of all Benjamin Lundy starting it in Virginia in 1815, in 1819 arguing for freedom in St. Louis, in 1822 in East Tennessee publishing and lecturing against slavery, in 1823-4 going to Philadelphia to attend an Anti-Slavery Convention, in 1824 in Baltimore, in 1825 visiting Hayti, in 1828 associated with Mr. Garrison. Mr. Garrison, most people know, was an abolitionist forty years ago. Who else previous to 1830? Mr. Adams began his anti-slavery career in 1837, in presenting in Congress a petition from slaves. James G. Birney became an abolitionist in 1834, and thence forward he fought a good fight despite mobs and social ostracism. Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, of the National Era, in 1836 became Mr. Birney's associate in labor and suffering, being repeatedly mobbed in Cincinnati. In 1837 Salmon P. Chase entered upon his career by defending a slave-woman before an Ohio court. In 1838 he claimed, in a newspaper article, the right of trial by jury for slaves; in 1843 he was distinguished in an Abolitionist Convention.

"I am confident that the work of Theo. D. Weld,* and his companions, in abolitionizing Ohio is underrated. In the first place, it is worth while to look at the time when these young men did their work. I cannot now recall a single leading man in Ohio who was then, in 1833-4, directly agitating the subject of slavery. Dr. G. Bailey, Mr. Birney's able associate in the Philanthropist, was himself converted by the Lane students to their Anti-Slavery notions. In 1836 he went into that paper; the press and material of which were twice cast into the

* As a specimen of Weld's method of assault upon slavery, we quote the following from one of his addresses:

"Some years since, when traveling from Halifax in N. C., to Warrenton in the same State, we passed a large drove of slaves on the way to Georgia. Before coming up with the gang, we saw at a distance a colored female, whose appearance and actions attracted our notice. I said to the driver, who was a slave, "What is the matter with that woman, is she crazy?" "No, Massa," said he, "I know her: it is————. Her master sold her two children this morning, and she has been following along after them, and I suppose they have driven her back." By this time, we had come up with the woman. She seemed quite young. As soon as she recognized the driver, she cried out, "They've gone! they've gone! Master would sell them. I told him I couldn't live without my children,—and I got away and followed after them, but the drivers whipped me back". The poor creature tossed her arms about with maniac wildness, and beat her bosom, and literally cast dust into the air, as she moved towards the village. At the last glimpse I had of her, she was nearly a quarter of a mile from us, still throwing handfuls of sand around her with the same frenzied air."—A. A. T.

river that year. It was not until 1836 that we hear of Salmon P. Chase, and then only as the protector of Mr. Birney from the Cincinnati mob. In 1837 he began his true career as the slave's friend, and commenced to unfold that glorious sentiment, 'Once free, *always free.*'"

"As for Benjamin F. Wade, we hear nothing of him until, in the Ohio Senate in 1837, he denounced the annexation of Texas.

"As early as 1834 there were few public men in Ohio,—almost none,—who either spoke or wrote against African Slavery. Except the Philanthropist, which was started in 1834 or 1835, I do not now recall a single anti-slavery paper in the State. Even as late as 1845, the Whig newspapers of Ohio were opposed to the agitation of slavery, and the agitation was produced by other agencies mainly.

"In 1834 the students of Lane Theological Seminary discussed the question of slavery, became anti-slavery, and were prohibited from discussing it further by the Trustees, because of the risk of a mob. During a period of two years, from 1834 to 1836 there was intense agitation because of the most positive opposition to the discussion of slavery."

The third annual report of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in 1836, showed 133 anti-slavery societies in Ohio, and gives the dates of their organization. Of all these, but seven were organized previous to 1834.

Dr. Cyrus Prindle of Cleveland wrote a letter printed in "Matlack's Anti-Slavery Struggle in the M. E. Church," in which he says:

"No one who was not a participant in the ecclesiastical proceedings in the Methodist Episcopal Church from 1835 to 1840, can have any idea of the embarrassments and sufferings to the abolitionists in those years of terrorism. The struggle and conflict in the Church that was the most trying and severe began about 1834."—A. A. T.

FROM HIS MOTHER.

Cholera infection in Butler County. Burials at Venice every day. Prof. McGuffey in the homes of Miami students.

Paddy's Run, July 19th, 1834.

My Dear Boy:

If I am correct in the day of the month, this day, 52 years ago, ushered me into this world of changes; and I may say with Jacob, "few and evil have been the days of my pilgrimage, as it respects myself; but as it respects the Lord's dealings with me, I may say "goodness and mercy have followed me all the days of my life." And now on the threshold of eternity I desire to take a retrospective view of all my backslidings and wanderings from Him, and come back again to that *sure foundation* "the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ." My own good works will not save me because they have been very, very few and *all* mixed with sin. Self-righteousness is a rock on which too many split.

I only regret that I have not been more faithful to Him and improved the unspeakable privileges with which He has blessed me, and been more faithful to my children in instructing them in the Holy Scriptures and their duty to God and man. I can say that I have no greater pleasure than to see that my children are walking in the truth; and if life is desirable for anything, it is only this, that I might see the image of Christ stamped on each of them. They have been the children of many prayers and should I not live to see them, I believe they will all be brought into the fold of Christ.

Mr. McGuffey called and left your parcel for which I thank you. Your letter afforded us great pleasure at this solemn time. We are all waiting the approach of cholera. There have been seven buried in this graveyard this week. Now I want to guard you against uneasiness. Elizabeth is at Venice, and we are all using every precaution, by cleanliness, composure, and proper diet, and should the Lord see fit to visit us with the sickness, no means shall be left untried, and then I desire to say, "The will of the Lord be done." I feel thankful that three of you are at Oxford. No better place, or better help, should it reach that, and I do not wish one of you to come here. You can do us no good and perhaps coming in out of another air might take it and bring it to us.

Monday morning. We are yet all well and I do not know of any new cases of cholera. We had a most delightfully solemn day yesterday. Mr. McGuffey preached to us on the threshold of eternity, and the people felt it and requested that he would hold a meeting this morning at nine to return thanks to God that no appearance of cholera is among us as a church and to implore publicly His protection. Do not be more uneasy than necessary. We will write by next post and wish you to write too.

Your affectionate mother,

E. R. Thomas.

Note. Rev. William Holmes McGuffey, D. D. LL. D., was born in 1800 of Scotch-Irish parents in Pennsylvania. He was graduated from Washington College, and was called to the chair of Languages in Miami University in 1826, before graduation. He was successively President of Cincinnati College, in 1837; President of Ohio University, Athens, 1839-45; and Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Virginia, 1845-73. He died in Charlottesville, Virginia, 1873. Two of his children are living, Mrs. Mary Stewart of Dayton, Ohio, and the wife of Dr. Andrew D. Hepburn, once President, and now Professor Emeritus at Miami.

I hold no letter of Dr. McGuffey's on the subject of slavery, and doubt if he ever wrote one. Some persons think any one is cold who is reticent, and Dr. McG. was ever reticent. "Contemporary letters are facts:" and this chance letter is no unpleasant picture of him, at Darrtown, if you please, or at Venice, or other outlying hamlets that were Miami's constituencies. He was where in time of cholera, there were funerals needed every day, consoling the dying and burying the dead. In such homes as this letter came from, he was a welcome and distinguished guest, as he was later, in the cultured homes at Charlottesville, where he was to be a professor for the next thirty-eight years.

He is most widely known by the series of School Readers prepared by him. If some of us can think of them only as the dog-eared books school boys pushed their elbows into, others will remember them differently. When Dr. McGuffey died, a writer in a Chicago paper claimed the selections in his Readers from Webster had been of essential use in maintaining Union sentiment in the Northwest, in the hesitating time, before or early in the war of Secession. They were declaimed in every school house and were on the lips of hundreds of thousands of men and

women who had been school children. These Readers long had an exclusive use that none will have again. The newspaper and magazine of to-day were wholly wanting; almost all private houses had no books except the Bible and school books; and of the latter, the Readers, he said, were longest preserved.

My father, his old pupil, had a regard for Dr. Wm. H. McGuffey he had for no other man who was a teacher only. He preached but seldom as years went on, and then I can remember, when he came here, the large groups of educated people who lingered after church to show their respect.

Any University consists of a place, and persons, and memories. Modern life, they say, is deficient in ceremony: college Centennials are occasions for ceremony. The worth of Dr. William H. McGuffey is also "a tradition in many families." The children or children's children of his students live in nearly every state. If they can be reminded in June, they will honor his memory. Miami University will honor herself if she does the same thing.—A. A. T., May, 1909.

Mother of Thomas E. Thomas. Her character and trials. Exultation when told that death approached.

Note. Elizabeth Robinson, mother of Thomas E. Thomas, was born in England in 1782, and always lived in London until her marriage to Thomas Thomas in 1808. She was the eldest daughter of Thomas Robinson, who was a deacon of the Independent Congregation of Stepney Chapel, and a prosperous merchant in the Russia tallow trade.

Reared in comfort and plenty in early life; afterward with a family of five young children, in emigrating to America and living in the pioneer West, she saw her full share of all the difficulties and trials which could fall to the lot of such a woman. "We were," she afterwards said, "in every sense, missionaries except in the name and the support." She had many accomplishments, and her intelligence and cheerfulness made her welcome in any company all her days.

It was his mother who prepared Thomas E. Thomas for college. She had an especial dislike for denominational or sectarian partition walls, which people afterwards wondered at in her son. On his ordination, she wrote to him, "You were solemnly dedicated to God's service from the moment you drew your breath; and in the most devoted, awfully solemn manner, dedicated to Him in baptism, by your dear Father. The vows of God are now upon you, and woe unto you if you draw back."

If, in after life, when influenced by Dr. MacMaster, my father hesitated to say he would not commune with slaveholders, there was one old lady behind him who had no doubts on the subject;

nor, to the last, would she in church, fellowship with or sit to hear any of those who were "dealers in flesh and blood."

What mother ever before wrote to her son: "Hold your little children loosely; they are but lent treasures to be recalled anon: and have a care lest they take our thoughts from God!" To me, my grandmother always appeared to be the last of the Puritans.

Among the letters preserved by my father, is one endorsed by him "My last letter from my dear mother; she came to my house 6 April 1863, and died there 6 April 1864."

When it was announced to this old saint that death approached, her loud cries of triumph and rejoicing seemed strange to hear: she had no time for adieus or worldly concern; heaven opened to her view. Her father and sisters, long gone before, she greeted repeatedly by name, as though they stood at her side, as they did in reality to her; thus it was till the coma of death stopped her voice. "So she passed over; and all the trumpets sounded on the other side."—A. A. T.

FROM THEODORE JOHNSON, A CLASSMATE AT MIAMI UNIVERSITY.

An inside view of slavery. Education and due religious instruction withheld.

Beverly, Adams Co., Miss., Jan. 25, 1836.

DEAR BROTHER:

I have heard of you only once since I left; but was pleased to learn that your school was prospering. I have delayed writing, but have been endeavoring to collect the information that you desired me to communicate; although it is universally the opinion here that such information should not be communicated, even privately, to particular friends. I shall tell you only what I see and hear, and know to be true. Who, except those who do evil and hate the light, were ever afraid to have others know their manners and customs? The greatest injustice of these people is their withholding from the slaves the privilege of learning the Gospel, either by reading or hearing preaching. In Natchez a sermon is preached to the slaves every Sabbath afternoon, in the Methodist Church, and some are permitted to attend. But in the country the slaves live and die almost as ignorant of religion as the mules and oxen they drive. I know of but four plantations where religious instruction is permitted. One of them is Mr. Chase's, a Presbyterian minister, who preaches to his own slaves, and none within five miles around him are permitted to go and hear him. Neither is he permitted to go and preach to them at home. The slaves of Mr. H—'s plantation hold meetings by themselves. One leads, sings, prays, talks; but as he cannot read and does not hear any Scripture read, his talking is vain repetition, that does little or no good. About a month after I came here, I asked Mr. H. if he had any objections to my reading the Scripture to the slaves on the Sabbath. His answer was, "Yes sir, I do not wish anything of the kind done." Shortly after this, while reading in my own room on the Sabbath, two slaves, about 14 years old, came to me with a spelling book and asked me to hear them read. I should have been glad to hear them and talk about their souls; but knowing their master's views, I sent them away just as they came. Where no preaching is allowed, the Sabbath, of course, is not regarded as a sacred day. All

extra work is attended to, which might interrupt regular business of the week. Last Sunday, I walked out at noon to the quarters. I there saw four slaves washing clothes, one man repairing the roof of his house; one nailing old boards over the crevices in the wall, etc.

I accomplish little in study beyond miscellaneous reading and don't know when I shall be prepared for the work of the ministry. I have no religious associates here, and my graces are very low.

Among the students who were at Miami during the five years T. E. Thomas was there, and who as undergraduates knew and influenced each other, were Wm. S. Groesbeck, Jno. J. McRae, Jos. G. Monfort, Wm. B. Caldwell, Samuel F. Cary, Wm. Dennison, Jere H. Peirce, Wm. R. Rogers, James Birney, the son of Jas. G. Birney, Free-Soil nominee for president, Chauncey N. Olds, Thomas P. Townsley, Samuel Galloway, Benj. W. Chidlaw, Charles Anderson, Jas. J. Faran, T. Lyle Dickey, Freeman Cary, Robt. H. Bishop, Jr., Thornton A. Mills, Albert Galloway. David H. Bruen and Jared M. Stone.

Many others of character and influence throughout their lives would not be known by the reader, if recalled by name. One roomed with my father during his early Oxford years. In debate at the "Lit," some one said, "I do not want by severity to discourage my opponent. He is 'The Hope of Tod's Fork.'" This was a creek in Warren county. The students never after called him by any other name. At the date of reopening of Miami, just fifty years afterwards, a tottering old clergyman went by, led by his daughter. Gov. Charles Anderson then told me the story, which I knew. "There," said he, "is 'The Hope of Tod's Fork.'"

FROM JARED M. STONE, A CLASSMATE AT MIAMI UNIVERSITY

Lexington, Ky., March 4, 1836.

BROTHER THOMAS:—

My carelessness, I fear, has given you just cause to think that I had forgotten you, or my promise, at least, to write to you soon. In a short time after I left you last October, I went in search of a school, and found a situation, at last after tramping about for three or four weeks. This business of hunting up schools is fine exercise indeed, you know something about it perhaps. I went down to Louisville and New Albany, searched about in that quarter several days, but found no opening such as I chose to engage in. Passing on to Lexington, Ky., I found a country classical school, about five miles from the city, where I have been staying ever since. But my school, though tolerably agreeable, is not of such an interesting character as to require a particular description. I should like to know how you are getting along at Franklin, as well as I am here, and better no doubt. This Kentucky liberality—bah—they hug their gold dust with as strong a grip as even the penurious Yankee! I knew something about the people in Ohio and Indiana, that gathering money from them was like gathering figs from thistles; but in respect to the Kentuckians I was somewhat like Dick Whittington when he supposed the streets of London to be paved with gold. But never mind, say I. Bread is earned by the sweat of the brow.

How do you stand now in respect to Abolition? I have not seen Calhoun's Report in Congress. He, no doubt, pours out upon the heads of those—fanatics—incendiaries—as the Southerners call the Abolitionists—a sea of wrath. He is a strong man, and likely to be right where his head is not perverted by passion and prejudice; Calhoun has no small share of Southern feeling, and prejudice. You take Birney's publication, I suppose. I have seen no numbers of it. I have just been reading the address of the Kentucky Synod to the Churches under its care, written by J. C. Young, and of course, breathing the very spirit of *Gradualism*. It is an able document, however, and I am , on the whole, well pleased with it. Kentucky, no doubt, exhibits slavery in its mildest forms, but even here there is enough to cause the very heart to sicken. The system of domestic slavery is execrable, dark and damning, view it as you will. But it *cannot stand*.

You will be present when the Presbytery meets, and I hope to see you then. What progress do you make in theological study? Do you read any system regularly? Teaching and regular systematic study do not harmonize entirely. Much may be accomplished, however, by diligence and perseverance.

Have you any doubts respecting the received doctrine of the Trinity? That the Beings designated by the titles, Father, Son and Holy Spirit are invested with all the attributes of deity is abundantly clear, but that there exist three distinct persons in the divine Essence, it seems to me a difficult matter to prove from the Scriptures. Do not the titles above designate the several *modes* under which the Sovereign has chosen to reveal himself to the children of Men?

Dr. Jared M. Stone; history; quality and service as a college teacher. Early Western teachers poorly paid.

Note. Rev. Jared M. Stone, D. D., was born at New Milford, Conn., in 1808, removed to the west in 1829 with his father's family which settled in Franklin Co., Indiana, near Harrison, O. Soon thereafter entering Miami University, he was graduated, taking the first honors of his class. Afterward he taught at Oxford, and, at the same time, pursued his studies for the ministry under the direction of Drs. Bishop, McGuffey and Scott. Dr. Scott has written of him that "he not only stood first in scholarship in one of the largest classes which the University ever graduated, but extended his reading and studies over a wider field of science, literature and general intelligence outside of the regular college curriculum."

Dr. Stone was married in 1836, to Miss Abbie Clark of Conway, Mass., who had for some time been principal of a select girls' school at Oxford; and first became pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Connersville, Indiana.

In Sept., 1841, he began his labors in the Presbyterian Church at Springdale, Hamilton Co., O., the membership of which was scattered over a large territory. In ministering to these people he held services at five or six separated places, and this involved time, labor and endurance in travel over bad roads, little realized at the present time. Thirty-two persons were at once, received here on examination.

From Springdale, Dr. S. went to New Albany, Ind., to teach a female seminary; and from thence, at the urgent call of Dr. Thomas, accepted a Professorship in Hanover College, where he remained six years, acting as President for two years after Dr. T. left in 1854. Thereafter, he was for two years professor in Iowa State University, at Iowa City; and from 1858 to 1863, pastor of the Church and Principal of an Academy at Princeville, Peoria Co., Ill. In 1871, Dr. Stone removed to Old Du Quoin, where he continued teaching and preaching, until after forty years of self-sacrificing labor, and about two years after the death of Dr. Thomas, he followed him, on Oct. 10, 1876.

"Where did you get so much mathematics in Illinois?" asked the examiner at Union College, N. Y., of one of his pupils who had presented himself there for admission. Although the mathematics and natural science were his chosen specialty, his fellow Professors at Hanover used to say, as was said elsewhere of Dr. MacMaster, that when unexpectedly called, he would teach any other department as well as its regular instructor.

Dr. Jonathan Edwards, in an historical address at McCormick Theology Seminary, stated that no one familiar with early church educational enterprises in the West would be disposed to complain because they were not more liberally supported. Times were hard: money was scarce and not generally in the hands of those willing and under obligation to give: yet the fact remains that in their early days, most of the Colleges in the West starved with Professors. Now, most of them have endowments and wealth; but wealth cannot often buy such instruction as Prof. Stone gave, for a generation, to seminaries and pupils who were not able to pay for it. Rev. C. Sturdevant, in his letter on page ——, states that while Principal of a female seminary at New Albany, Prof. Stone agreed "not to disturb the harmony of that institution with his views about slavery". Perhaps this was true; but it is also true that from boyhood, and throughout his life, Jared M. Stone was a staunch, reliable, moderate, intelligent and outspoken abolitionist.—A. A. T.

No note is needed in this volume more than one on *"The Breckinridges; especially Rev. Dr. Robt. J., Rev. Dr. John C. Young: 'The Kentucky Emancipationists' and 'Gradualism;'"* and none would be so hard to write. The Note was prepared but withheld unfinished, for want of some information which lay only in MSS. or pamphlet prints. These I was foiled in trying to get.

In American historical studies, no subject ought to be so tempting to a biographer as the story of the Breckinridge family and its connections, in relation to the anti-slavery struggle in Church and State. The topic seems never to have been touched by any one competent and informed, for fear of rousing varied

resentment in hostile factions of the high class of people from whom such a biographer would wish a continuance of existing good-will. "Let us have peace"; but that was never the motto of the Breckinridge family. The Rev. Dr. Robt. J. probably never had peace on any subject, with any person, at any place during a long and tempestuous life. For all that, he was a glory of a man; second to none, I believe, in the United States, of those who never held any official position.

The future biographer will find his difficulty, not in telling the truth, for no one could fail to do that about Rev. Dr. R. J. B.: —the old doctor never gave anybody a chance to;—but the difficulty will be to let men and events have a due relation and proportion, and to give actual and adequate background.

Most historians and biographers tell the truth. Rev. Dr. Halsey, in his history of the McCormick Theological Seminary, does, but if his subjects have any pro or anti-slavery record, he covers the exposed parts with two coats of white-wash. His hope and wish is that all men may look alike. And they do when he has got through with them. The Rev. Dr. Charles Hodge of Princeton was a past master in this biographical art. Dr. Jared Sparks was an eminent offender in his line; he would omit words and lines in Washington's letters and elucidate the text until "there was nothing left of Washington but a steel engraving", having a fixed expression of piety and dignified peace. I can strike words or lines from the letters and addresses of Rev. Drs. E. D. MacMaster, Thomas E. Thomas, Jno. W. Scott, and of Nathan L. Rice, George Junkin, Palmer and Charles Hodge, to the somewhat "promotion of the peace of the church", and to the disaccommodation of the truth.

My father throughout his life abounded in stories of the Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckinridge. He once came to Miami and examined a class in ancient history. "Where is Smyrna?", he asked a student. "Do you allude to its location, Sir?", asked the student. "Yes," said the old doctor, "I allude to its location, and any thing else about it comprehended by the word, "Where."— A. A. T., May, 1909.

No one in the United States understood Kentucky "Gradualism" better than President Lincoln. During the four long years, he kept his finger on her pulse, forgave her her trespasses, argued her case against her enemies, and, at last, won her confidence. He gave Missouri the same treatment with less success, because there were less able men there.

The events of the war cured Dr. Robt. J. Breckinridge of Gradualism. At Baltimore, when Lincoln was renominated, he called the great convention to order. All the country listened. He said, "They tell us what we will do is unconstitutional. We will change our Constitution if it suits us to do so."

FROM REV. DR. ROBERT H. BISHOP, PRESIDENT OF MIAMI UNIVERSITY.

My dear Friend: Oxford, September 1, 1836.

As some new arrangements are to be made in Miami University, my thoughts have been tending toward you. Be pleased to let me know if it would be agreeable to you to cast in your lot with us here.

My plan is that you should be styled Professor of Rhetoric and Greek Literature, and instruct the Sophomores and Juniors; Horace's Art of Poetry and select portions of the Greek classics to be your standing text books. The salary will be $600, with the prospect of being increased to seven or eight hundred should you succeed.

As the plan is wholly my own, I wish to have your opinion on it before I state so much in the preparatory announcement.

Let me hear then from you immediately.

Sincerely yours,

R. H. BISHOP.

P. S. Remember me affectionately to your mother.

FROM HIS MOTHER.

Defense of slavery in Warren County churches. What this English mother thinks and does in consequence. Remembers struggles in England for emancipation. Tells her son to "stand his ground".

My Dear Son: Franklin, O., Sept. 4, 1839.

As my mind is full of concern I sit down this evening to unburthen it to you. * * * I believe the people in Franklin Church are dwindling most of them into mere formalists. I hope better things of the over river people, for I understand Mr. Hudson invited a slaveholder to assist him on the last Sabbath; and the people would not let him come, but requested that you might be invited; on your refusal, Mr. Coffee of Lebanon supplied. I do not know what Mr. H— is at heart, but he preached two Wednesday lectures from the passage where Paul sent Onesimus, the runaway slave, as Mr. H— called him, back to his master. From this, and other passages, he proved that there were slaves in the Apostles' day, and that they ran away from their masters; and that the Apostle thought right to send them back again. I suppose this was to support the "Ohio Black Laws"; and likewise slavery had been established in the patriarchal days, and was a wise appointment. Now all this he might have said, if he had made a comparison between the patriarchal slaves and the Kentucky slaves,—but no! that must be concealed for some abolitionist to divulge, poor fellow, and get his head shot off for it. Well, truth will come out, and

I believe that it will not be long before people will be ashamed of such concealments. Ministers have to turn the *tub* sometimes, you know, and perhaps this was one of the old *Kentuck sermons.* It would do very well there now. Mr. H— closed the services with "The Lord dismiss us", etc. I was asked why I did not sing. I told them because I expected the Lord would dismiss me with His curse if I did. This is an uncomfortable state to be in; (but it is so). Since that we had a right hot colonizationist preach at the Methodist meeting-house; and he undertook to make out the abolitionists such vile fellows; that is, they had acted so unwisely in all their exertions and had done nothing, that I took my leave of the house before he had proceeded far; so you see we have colonization here as well as at Hamilton. But never fear; so we had in England, and in the British Parliament for twenty years. But Clarkson and Wilberforce were conquerors! Stand your ground!! Don't flinch one inch!!! *

*Note. The punctuation given follows the MS. Abraham Lincoln said, "Some people claim punctuation is a matter of rule; with me it is a matter of feeling." With my grandmother it evidently was a matter of emphasis. (A. A. T.)

TO PROFESSOR JNO. W. SCOTT.

T. E. Thomas goes to the anti-slavery convention at Massillon; Reasons why. Messages he wants from Oxford people.

My Dear Sir: Hamilton, O., May 13, 1840.

I have concluded to attend the annual meeting of the O. Anti-Slavery Society, at Massillon, Stark Co. It meets May 27th. I go as a delegate from the society in this place; and shall accompany Bro. Blanchard. My reasons for attending, at this time, are several. First, my health, I hope will be improved, by a gentle ride of 200 miles. Then, I shall have an opportunity of seeing the capital of our State, and a large district of country with which I am almost wholly unacquainted. An opportunity of botanising, a little, at this season of the year, in a diagonal line across Ohio, is of some importance. Of more value is the privilege of forming an acquaintance with a large number of individuals of whom I have heard something, and who will attend the Convention. I have some curiosity, (may my old school brethren forgive!) to look at Finney, who is to be there. A large number of Western Reserve people will be present; and I wish to see a little of Western Reserve character; having heard the fame thereof with my ears. It will be some pleasure to meet Burgess, and Crothers, and Rankin, and Buffum, &c. But, above all these, and next to my love for the Anti-Slavery cause, that which determined me to attend, was,

the importance of the meeting at the present crisis. The question of political action, the propriety or impropriety of sustaining a third party, will be discussed, and decided in some way. And that decision will have no little influence upon abolitionists, both in Ohio and elsewhere. For my own part, I am opposed, at present, to such a third party; though I cannot vote for either Van Buren or Gen'l Harrison. Both are devoted to the slaveholding interest. But what I fear is, that, should the abolitionists decide in favor of the new nominations, and combine as a political party, they would lose much of their moral influence; and many would be deterred from sustaining the anti-slavery cause, who would, otherwise, cheerfully support it. Ministers, for instance, would feel that, in supporting abolitionists as a third party, proposing candidates for the Presidency of the U. S. they were entering too fully into politics; and many would fear to draw upon themselves the opposition of the present parties. Still, I believe that abolitionists are bound to use their suffrages in favor of freedom; and I know not how they can, consistently with duty, vote for Van Buren or Harrison.

Should you or Dr. Bishop, or any of the abolitionists of Oxford think proper to communicate your views on this subject, either to be employed at the Anniversary, or, should you prefer it, only to aid me in understanding the public sentiment in this region, that I may the better represent it, I shall be glad. I do not suppose that either the Dr. or yourself would wish your names to be used. I am anxious that this, among other questions, should be settled aright; and, as there will be a large attendance from the upper end of the State, where the third party is popular, I deem it important that our section should be represented as fully as possible. And, as I suppose that many will be prevented from attending, by the distance, I feel it my duty to go. I shall pass through Springfield, taking J. Galloway with us, if possible; and by Columbus, and Granville.

I intend to take a Peace-Maker with me; and if urgent requests succeed, will bring home a good list of subscribers.

My love to Mrs. S. and family.

Could not the abolitionists of Oxford hold a meeting this week, and send up a written report of what they did the past year, for the slave, and *what they intend doing the coming year?* I should be happy to take it; and the Society requests such information.

Prof. John W. Scott. Ancestry. Education, Sketch of his life, and service as a college instructor. Beautiful old age. Death.

Note: The Rev. John Witherspoon Scott, D. D., was born January 22, 1800, and was graduated at Washington College in

1823. He then took post-graduate work in science, under Professor Silliman in Yale College, from which he received his Masters' Degree.

"The Laird of Arras," as he was called, was an officer in the army of the Covenanters, at the battle of Bothwell Bridge. His son, John, born in the north of Ireland, came to America in 1741, when fifty years old, and became one of the first trustees of the Neshaming church, in Pennsylvania. With him came his son William, whose son was the Rev. Geo. McElroy Scott, who was educated under Dr. Ewing of Philadelphia, the founder of the University of Pa., and studied theology under Dr. Witherspoon of Princeton. He was an eminent minister of the Presbyterian Church; was active in missions among the Indians, near Sandusky, Ohio, and was one of the founders of Washington College. In this institution, his son, the Rev. John Witherspoon Scott, D. D., the subject of this note, became a professor. In 1828, he became professor of Mathematics in Miami University. It was the character and the teaching of Drs. Bishop, McGuffey and Scott, of them so preeminently that no other names need be now mentioned, which gave its early and deserved fame to Miami University. From Miami, Dr. Scott followed Dr. Bishop to Farmer's College, but four years afterward he opened the Oxford Female College, at the head of which for ten years he exerted a wide influence. Afterward he was, for a short time, at Hanover College, then two years at the State University, Springfield, Ill., then seven years at Monongahela, Pa., and afterwards took a position in the Pension Bureau at Washington, the duties of which, despite of very advanced years, he continued faithfully to discharge until a recent date.

"The chair for which he was trained by its greatest master of that day in the New World, he occupied for fifty-three years;" but of these Miami had only seventeen, 1828-1845.

He is the father of Mrs. Benjamin Harrison, the present mistress of the White House, where he is now living at the remarkable age of ninety-two. To him, with this correspondence, the children of his early friend would send respectful greetings. May he live, in his own years, to complete a wonderful century of the life of the Republic, and to see all the fruits of the victory, as he has already seen the beginning and the end of the Anti-Slavery Conflict.—A. A. T.

Geo. Alfred Townsend wrote of Prof. Scott, "A more wholesome and beautiful man of his age I have never seen anywhere." He accompanied his daughter's funeral cortege from Washington to Indianapolis, and returned to die in the White House a month later, Nov. 29, 1892. On the Sunday morning before he died, hearing his niece at the piano in an adjoining room, he asked her to play "Abide With Me;" then with low but steady voice he sang all of Henry Francis Lyte's hymn:

Abide with me: fast falls the eventide;
The darkness deepens; Lord with me abide!
When other helpers fail, and comforts flee,
Help of the helpless, oh, abide with me!

Not a brief glance I beg, a passing word,
But as thou dwell'st with thy disciples, Lord,
Familiar, condescending, patient, free,
Come, not to sojourn, but abide with me.

I need thy presence every passing hour;
What but thy grace can foil the tempter's power,
Who like thyself my guide and stay can be?
Thro' cloud and sunshine, oh, abide with me!

Swift to its close ebbs out life's little day;
Earth's joys grow dim, its glories pass away:
Change and decay in all around I see;
O thou, who changest not, abide with me!

—A. A. T., May 1909.

TO PROF. J. W. SCOTT, OXFORD, O.

T. E. Thomas preaches against slavery at Springfield, Ohio; what happened. Butler County anti-slavery society formed.

Hamilton, June 11, 1840.

On Saturday last I returned home, after an absence of three weeks, and a journey of five hundred miles. I had a very pleasant trip. The weather was firm and the roads good. I passed through Dayton, Springfield, Columbus, Granville, Millersburg; and on my return, Coshocton, on the Tuscarawas; and Zanesville on the Muskingum. I saw a large and very pleasant portion of our State, to which I had been an entire stranger. Our meeting at Massillon was a highly interesting one. For particulars I refer you to the Philanthropist of this week. On my way out I stopped at Springfield. Brother Galloway had a regular lecture that evening, (Wednesday), and he asked me to supply his pulpit. I promised to preach on slavery, to which he consented. A pretty good congregation was collected. Soon after I commenced, three gentlemen left the house. The remainder seemed surprised and offended, at first; but before I closed, they were more patient and attentive. Next morning, as I left the tavern, I overheard Wallace, one of the trustees, saying to another, "It is an imposition. We went to hear the Gospel and not to be blackguarded about abolition!" On my return, I learned that the day I left, the trustees of Mr. G's church met, and passed a strong resolution of censure on him for permitting me to lecture on slavery. The congregation was quite in a hubbub. Next Sabbath Brother Galloway preached on pulpit independence; and at the close of his discourse, informed his people that he was about to leave them. He told them of the resolution passed by the trustees, which, I believe, prohibited him from

introducing the subject of slavery, or allowing its introduction by another. He informed them that he would never preach for a church where his mouth was closed on any subject connected with his message as a minister; that he had been with them some eight years, and that perhaps it was for the best that they should separate. His people were surprised and grieved. Next day the session met, and with tears requested him to reconsider his resolution. Happily, that week the day for election of trustees arrived. The congregation turned out the old ones, first requiring them to exscind and exchange their recorded resolution against Brother G.; elected a new Board, and closed by giving Mr. Galloway full liberty to say whatever he thought proper upon slavery. He himself gave me this information. He said that for a week, he was in great trouble about duty; but that having prayerfully adopted the above course, he was now rejoiced to find that he was more firmly fixed in the confidence and affections of his people than ever before; that he felt thankful Providence had now opened the way for him to plead a cause which he had long desired to aid, but which he had feared to introduce, lest the church should be injured.

I had the pleasure of meeting several good Old and New school, and Conservative brethren; Hitchcock of Columbus, a young man lately come; Little of Granville; Warner of Massilon; Blodget of Euclid; Pres. Mahan, and Prof. Morgan of Oberlin, perfectionists, in a sad error, but most amiable, gentle, Christian-like men; Crothers and Dickey; and finally on my return, Barnes, Galloway, Crane of Madison, Ind., Russell, Coe and Hudson, at Franklin, where they had met to install Brother H—. I found a general disposition of regret for the past, and a desire of friendly connection and intercourse in future. Even Brother Crane, who voted the excision act in the Assembly of '37, admitted that it was with great pain that he had brought himself up to the voting point, on that occasion.

We are about to form a Butler County Anti-Slavery Society. Last Thursday evening, at a meeting of our Hamilton and Rossville Anti-Slavery Society, we passed a resolution, inviting the abolitionists of the county to meet here on the 4th of July. Friday evening, July 3d, we wish them to be here; when an address will be delivered by Blanchard, or Brisbane of Cincinnati; and on Saturday morning, at 8 or 9 o'clock, we shall hold a business meeting, for the adoption of a Constitution, and for organization. We wish to meet that early, July 4, that we may not interfere with the other celebrations in the place. Perhaps we may have a second address during the day. You best know whether it would be proper for you to be here. I should be glad to see you, did you feel it your duty. At any rate, please tell Mr. Woods, and all the abolitionists of your town and neighborhood, and let them come down, one and all. We shall be able

and happy to accommodate all who may come on Friday afternoon. We are anxious to have a large meeting; and to form an efficient County Society. Tell Brother Graham to come down. I am particularly desirous that he should be present; Brother Robertson, too; for he is too good an abolitionist to be absent. Let us remember that we are in bonds, *as bound with them.* "If thou dost not deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if thou say, behold we knew it not, doth not He that pondereth the heart see it," &c.

TO PROFESSOR JNO. W. SCOTT.

How shall abolitionists vote? Can ministers take active part in politics?

Hamilton, July 11, 1840.

A day or two since, I received a line from Dr. Bailey, requesting me to forward to Jas. C. Ludlow, Esqr., the name of some individual who would serve as a presidential elector on the anti-slavery ticket. I suppose that some one of your citizens will be suitable; as I have understood that some of the abolitionists among you advocate a third party. Though I am in favor of withholding my vote, rather than casting it for Birney, yet, as Dr. Bailey says, if our friends will vote, let them have the right sort of a ticket. It seems to me to be of no importance which of the two courses we take, provided it be known that we adopt one or the other, as a body, and from principle.

You have seen, perhaps, the call for a county meeting at Mt. Pleasant, to discuss the question of duty in the approaching election, and to form a ticket such as abolitionists may properly sustain; I mean a ticket for the county. The principal object is to pass a resolution declarative of our opposition to both presidential candidates for their servility to slavery. I have been requested to address the meeting; and though my opinions are fixed, and in favor of such a resolution, and though I advocated it earnestly at Massillon, yet I have had some doubts respecting my duty as a minister in connection with these political subjects. On the one hand I would not venture too far; nor interfere with matters that do not concern me; and injure my ministerial usefulness. On the other hand, I would not, through a fear of injurious consequences to myself, neglect to use any proper influence in behalf of the slave. In mere party politics I have no desire to dabble; but in great questions of morals and public justice, ministers, it appears to me, are bound to let their voice be heard. John Calvin aided the Syndics of Geneva in political affairs. John Knox preached and prayed about politics. Rich. Baxter, Dr. Calamy, and a host of others, used their influence for the re-establishment of Charles II. Donald Cargill, Rich. Cameron and the Covenanters meddled with politics. So did Dr. Witherspoon, and the Presbyterians,

in the revolution, who thought it not improper to urge their hearers, from the pulpit, to battle in defence of their liberties. It may be said that Paul did not concern himself with the political affairs of his day; but I would reply that had Nero been a candidate for the empire, and had Paul and other Christians possessed the right of suffrage, he would neither have supported Nero by his vote, nor have failed to use his influence with the churches against that tyrant.

Have you seen Dyer Burgess' criticism on Χειροτονέω? (to ordain)? It is in the Philanthropist of June 30. He says that civil and ecclesiastical rulers are alike *ordained* of God through the *election,* (lifting up the hand), by the people; and that voting, and voting properly, is a sacred duty. Surely then it is not improper for us to consult together respecting the best mode of discharging that duty.

I set out with an intention of asking your advice on this subject of duty. I suppose you will think I am like the young lady whom Burns mentions as requesting the opinion of her sister on a delicate and important affair:

> Come counsel, dear titty, don't tarry;
> I'll give you my bonny black hen
> If you will advise me to marry
> The lad I love dearly, Tam Glen!

We formed a County Society the other day. Few attended; but—a handful of corn upon the top of the mountains, etc. We are publishing Dr. Brisbane's address, with the Constitution, minutes, etc.

Please send me the name of some respectable man who will serve as elector on the Birney ticket.

T. E. Thomas.

FROM REV. JOHN RANKIN.

Abolitionists in the Harrison campaign of 1840.

Ripley, Ohio, July 31, 1840.

Brother Thomas:

I received your kind letter, and I should be happy to attend your convention were it practicable. I am somewhat doubtful as to the propriety of holding a convention for deliberation when men are too excited to deliberate. It seems to me to be too near the time of election to answer a good purpose. Abolitionists are divided in sentiment, and there is danger of alienation in case they meet in contest at a convention.

I have had much hesitancy in my own mind in deciding what is best to be done at the coming election. I have endeavored to examine the matter with care. I have set abolitionism as the highest interest, and have endeavored to ascertain what will, upon the whole, promote it. I believe a change in the administration will be best for abolition. The Van Buren party is no less hostile than the Whig, and more slanderous, because the more powerful. There is no sacrifice of principle in so voting as to keep out of power the more dangerous party. It implies no approbation of the party put in power. Whig Abolitionists are so situated that

they cannot avoid putting one of the parties in power. If they do not vote for Harrison, they do as much for Van Buren as so many Democrats who put in their votes for him. I abhor the Whig party, and sustain it only because it is the best I can do for abolition, and for the country.

My belief is that the Whig abolitionists ought to distinctly state the ground on which they will vote, and then vote for Harrison. It is safer for abolition to have the weaker party in power. It is plausibly said that in voting for Tyler we sustain slavery; but there is no truth in it. Do we, when we vote for a man to do public service, sustain his personal immoralities? If so, we could never vote with propriety. Where is the candidate for whose personal conduct we would be willing to be held responsible? The Lord chose Saul, and Jehu, but did he approve of their personal conduct? Suppose a missionary in a heathen land were allowed to vote for chiefs, and two candidates were before the people, both idolaters, one of them in favor of extirpating Christianity, and the other an enemy to it, but disposed to tolerate it. Does the missionary in voting for the idolator who is in favor of tolerating Christianity sustain idolatry by his vote? He would sustain idolatry, in such case, were he to stay from the polls and refuse to vote. The principle I act on is that as a citizen I am bound to prevent evil. If I cannot prevent it all, I must prevent as much of it as I can. I am bound to cast my vote for the better side and against the greater evil. If there be no better side, then I may stay from the polls. If there be no better side then I am mistaken in my judgment. I believe, upon the whole, there is a better side, and that the interests of abolitionism and the nation require a change in the administration. The Democratic party are dangerous to our own liberty as well as that of the slave. If we are to do anything for the liberation of slaves we must have liberty ourselves, and we must have some pecuniary means. When I vote to put the Whig party in power, I vote for the means of doing something for the slave. Convince me that the parties have been and still are equal in dependence on us, in power and in all their bearings on the question of slavery, and I will stay from the polls. But if any difference does exist, so that there is a better side, then you may look for me on that side.

If abolitionists will not fellowship me, then I will stand for the slave alone, and do what I can, as I did in days past. If voting on this principle is inconsistent with abolitionism, I have always been inconsistent and am likely always to be so.

You will now easily see the principle on which I act; if it be wrong, I am wrong of course. And if so, I hope I shall have your pity and your prayers. If the Lord has given you more light, he will expect you to act in accordance with it. If he has left me in darkness, it is because my heart is wrong, and I am not so willing as I ought to be to know the truth. "He that doeth evil hateth the light."

"Who abolished slavery?" Beecher said: "John Rankin and his nine sons did it." Note by Gen. Birney about Rankin.

NOTE. "When Henry Ward Beecher was asked after the war, 'Who abolished slavery?' he is said to have answered, 'Rev. John Rankin and his seven sons did it'. His anti-slavery services were very great. Many Western men have called him 'the father of abolitionism'; and it was not an uncommon thing in the thirties to hear him called "the Martin Luther" of the cause. In 1827, the year in which New York abolished slavery within

her limits, John Rankin was one of the five most prominent advocates in this country of immediate abolition. He was also one of the earliest. Chas. Osborne and Rev. Geo. Bourne date as abolitionists from 1814; John Rankin and Benjamin Lundy from 1815, and Rev Jas. Duncan from about 1820. Of the many thousands who joined the modern anti-slavery movement within the first twelve years after its revival at the close of the War of 1812, these five names have been most familiar to abolitionists, and the two brightest are those of Lundy and Rankin. * * * In 1822 Rev. John Rankin became pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Ripley, Ohio, and held the place forty-four years." (*Jas. G. Birney and his Times,* by his son, p. 169.)

Rev. John Rankin died in 1886 aged ninety-three. He had nine sons, seven of whom fought in the Union army.

FROM DR. SAMUEL CROTHERS.

Abolitionism in Church and State. Dr. Crothers helps Dr. Bishop's "Peacemaker".

Greenfield, Dec. 24, 1840.

Yours of the 15th inst. arrived this evening. I think the printed minutes of Synod will show that we still adhere to the principles of the paper laid on their table in the Fall of 1836; that we still do not acknowledge either the Assembly or Synod as constitutional judicatories of the Presbyterian Church; and should any one have taken occasion to say that we have changed our own opinions as to exscinding acts, I doubt whether any protest unitedly presented or recorded on their minutes would have saved us from misrepresentation. It was well known by those who were present that we stated distinctly that we should feel ourselves bound to oppose and protest against any attempt to carry out the principles of these acts. The truth is, we did not consider anything besides the resolution adopted by Synod, necessary to satisfy brethren of both parties, and the world too, that we adhere to the principles expressed in conventions; nor does it appear to me yet that anything more was necessary.

I consider it a matter which calls for thankfulness that we took the course which we did take, and that it has resulted as it has. Our churches in this Presbytery are saved. I see no dissatisfaction in a single instance. And Brother Woodrow must abandon the hope of thriving on our expulsion.

I fully agree with you as to the wickedness of the present division, and our obligations to improve any opportunity of a reunion. But I confess I do not see what can be done immediately. I consider myself bound to avoid unnecessarily arousing the jealousy or wounding the feelings of our Old School brethren. And it appears to me that our New School friends are not yet in a mood to meet our advances. Nothing has more dis-

couraged me from that quarter than the manner in which the Presbytery of Ripley replied to our proposal, a year ago, for a joint committee to suggest regulations for promoting harmony and co-operation of the two Presbyteries. Their reply was insulting. Among other things they assigned as a reason for refusal that they did not know what we were going to be, etc.

I wish we could sustain the Peace-Maker another year, but I despair of it. I suppose it has already been a losing concern to the publishers, and I fear it would be no better during another year. If you are all of the opinion that it can be sustained, I shall do what I can; but I do not say how much that would be. I was both disappointed and mortified that we did so little for the present volume, in this region.

As to the new President I have no fears. The New School Assembly, in 1836, in their address to the Churches, said that the Presbyterian Church was doing very well until (horresco referens) Associate Reform ministers were admitted to our communion, having Dr. Junkin in their eye. And I think before another year, Dr. J. L. Wilson will be of the same opinion. I have more hope of Dr. Wilson than any of them. With all his faults he is above-board, and I am more of the opinion than ever that he is an honest man.

I believe that if we can do anything about slavery, it will be done in the Old School body. The other is hopeless—their course is despicable.

I now ask you to prepare something on the subject for next fall. I hope you will not suspect that I am possessed of that unclean spirit, a disposition to flatter, when I say I think you are the one who should do it. I believe that sin of slavery is at the bottom of all our difficulties; and I also believe that subject is likely to bring us together.

Dr. Crothers was, perhaps, first in ability, courage and service of early Ohio Presbyterian abolitionists. Sketch of life and publications, and influence. "To separate from the church while we are permitted to think, and to speak, and to act, is schism."

NOTE. Rev. Dr. Samuel Crothers, born in Pennsylvania about 1782, was of Scotch-Irish descent, his grandmother having lost both her parents in the siege of Londenderry. His father served in the army of the Revolution, and afterward emigrated to Kentucky. There young Crothers attended the Lexington Academy, and afterward received his theological training under Rev. Dr. John M. Mason in New York City. After teaching in Winchester, Ky., he became the pastor of the Presbyterian church at Greenfield, O., in the Chillicothe Presbytery, and re-

mained its pastor till his death in 1856; a period of *thirty six years.* His son is now pastor of the same church.

Respected and revered as one of the fathers in the church when Thomas E. Thomas entered the ministry; of great strength and simplicity of character, courage, piety and zeal, he exercised a wide influence in the early days of Presbyterianism in Ohio. His early prominence and distinguished service in the Anti-Slavery cause, merit the highest honor. It has been said that "Dr. Crothers was one of the fathers of Anti-Slavery literature." Between 1827 and 1831, he published fifteen letters in the Cincinnati Journal; being "An Appeal to Patriots and Christians, on behalf of the Enslaved Africans". In 1833, he organized in Greenfield "The Abolition Society of Paint Valley." In 1835, he wrote with quaint vigor, letters which were largely read, in answer to Dr. Young, President of Centre College, and to Dr. Hodge of Princeton, both of whom published articles in extenuation, if not in defense of slavery. He was the first, and perhaps the ablest of the ministers in the Presbyterian Church who made the fight against slavery within church bounds, *and as a moral question alone,* with righteous indignation against such as defended its iniquities on Biblical authority. His influence was potent with Drs. R. H. Bishop and Jno. W. Scott of Miami University, in preventing a dismemberment of the church in the West on the slavery question. Men like Rev. John Rankin left the Presbyterian Church organization because of its pro-slavery attitude. No one can read the records of the church on this subject without realizing what a comfort it would have been to the friends of slavery, if Dr. Crothers and the like of him could have been induced to leave the church and go off by themselves. "We will not", wrote Dr. Crothers, "be guilty of the sin of schism; separating from the Church of Christ, while we are permitted to think, and to speak, and to act, is schism." More truth cannot be put into fewer words. The people took hold of this idea in a political way, later on.

Perhaps some of the best of Dr. Crothers' writing on slavery, appears on the minutes of the Chillicothe Presbytery; the history of which has lately been published.* Because of their length, and being now accessible in print, selections from these admirable articles are not inserted here. In his "Life of Jas. G. Birney," Gen. Birney, his son states that the sermons of Dr. Crothers on the subject of slavery have not been preserved. My father preserved them; and I have them in his library of "Anti-Slavery Papers". Of these sermons, perhaps as memorable as any were:

* ("The Hist. of Chillicothe Presbytery, from its organization in 1799 to 1889, prepared in accordance with the order of Presbytery, by Rev. R. C. Galbraith, D. D.; Pub. by H. W. Guthrie, Hugh Bell and Peter Platter, Com. of Publication, Chillicothe, O. Scioto Gazette Book Office, 1889).

1. "The Gospel of the Jubilee, an explanation of the typical privileges secured to the congregation and pious strangers, by the atonement on the morning of the Jubilee. Lev. 25:9, 46; by Samuel Crothers, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Greenfield, Highland Co., O. Printed by J. M. Walters, Hamilton, O., 1837."

2. "The Gospel of Typical Servitude, the substance of a sermon preached in Greenfield, Jan'y. 1, 1834, by Samuel Crothers. Published by the Abolition Society of Paint Valley, Hamilton, O., 1835".

3. "Strictures on African Slavery by Samuel Crothers. Published by the Abolition Society of Paint Valley, 1835."

As showing the style of Dr. Crothers, we quote from the above all that space will here permit:

"In 1. Tim. 6:2, the phrase believing despots (masters) is used in reference to the moment of their conversion to express at once their past and present character. Some infer that they continued despots. But James tells us how Rahab, the harlot, was justified. Did she continue a harlot?"

"Why are all civilized nations rising up and declaring as one man that those outlaws engaged in the slave trade shall die the death? That man must be hackneyed in deceit, and expert at out-witting his conscience, who while he admits that making property of human beings on the coast of Africa ought to be punished with death, contends for it as a Christian employment on his own farm. We admit that one is a more hazardous employment than the other; and this is the sum of the difference. It requires courage to bolt into an African village at midnight, and in the presence of those fierce warriors, who sleep with their spears at their pillows, seize their little ones and hurry them to the slave ship. But the most timid man can step into an out-cabin and in the presence of parents who are in chains, seize their infant as it sleeps in their cradle. Can a Christian hesitate in pronouncing on such conduct? Does not nature itself teach you that it is a shame?" (pp 9-10. *The Gospel of the Typical Servitude.*) * * * *

"Our churches are defiled with this sin and must be cleansed. That loathsome carcass, slaveholding, has been lying in the church for more than three hundred years. In the eyes of many it is a pest to the churches' sacred furniture. There are hundreds and thousands of professed Christians who will not permit it to be removed or disturbed. An attempt to sell the ark of the covenant would not have produced greater convulsions in Israel, than an attempt to remove slavery from some of our churches. Every person and every vessel is polluted. Many of our members and ministers have grown gray in this sin. Some of them have acquired splendid fortunes by buying and selling the members of the Saviour's mystical body. If our children in sabbath schools and theological seminaries use some of the popular helps for understanding the word of God, they must believe that Abraham was a thief; that the Old Testament church was a den of licensed manstealers; that many of the statutes given at Mt. Sinai, instead of being the shadows of good things to come, were intended to encourage and regulate the slave-trade; and that the traffic in bodies and souls which the best and worst of men execrate as sinful in principle and ruinous in results, is a divine institution," (p. 19 *Gospel of Typical Servitude.*)

"The importance of understanding the various means of grace which God has, at different times, appointed in his church, is generally admitted; but we have an additional inducement to study carefully the ordinance of the Jubilee. It has long been shamefully misrepresented and abused. For centuries it has been proclaimed from the pulpit and the press as a divine license for the slave trade, and a system of slavery which, for injustice and cruelty, has no parallel in the history of the

world. It was long quoted in justification of the slave-making wars which for ages, desolated Africa. It was used as a passport for those slavers whose trade all nations are now pronouncing piracy. It is still in the mouth of every slaveholder for the sake of gain. It has been used by all descriptions of men, in all departments of the slavemaking concern. Over fields strewed with the dead bodies of innocent Africans, who had fallen in defense of their wives and children; over slaughtered villages; on the slave farm, and in the slave ship, amidst all the horrors of the middle passage; in the grog-shop, and in the house of God; at the gaming board, and at the Lord's table; in health, and in the solemn hour of death; it has quieted the consciences of men-stealers, and those who turn aside the stranger from his rights under the most fearful denunciations of the wrath of God." * * * *

10. "If buying servants of the Heathen means stripping them of their freedom and holding them as slaves, the same phrase must be understood in the same way, throughout the chapter. It would seem then that not only had Israelites a divine license for converting Gentiles into property; but the Gentiles had the same license in regard to Israelites (see verse 47), and the younger brethren the same as regarded their elder brother when he waxed poor—verse 39. Hence we have a statute which nullifies all the allegations imposed by the Sinai covenant on Jews and Gentiles to love one another when poor and fallen into decay. The command to relieve him, yea though he be a stranger, or a sojourner, that he may live with thee, was scarcely uttered by the Almighty, when it was displaced by a sweeping permission to treat each other as pirates! The direct tendency of this statute thus interpreted would be to make the Holy Land one of those dens of violence and cruelty, into which no poor man, unless he was able to whip every man he met with, would even dare to set his foot. And the fair application of it would be this.—the Scriptures allow us to enslave the African stranger when he waxes poor, and it allows the free African to enslave us when we wax poor, and he waxes rich. This would produce rare work in some neighborhoods." (p. 65 *The Gospel of the Jubilee*).

Dr. Crothers was the father of eleven children. During his long ministry, six hundred and eighty three communicants were added to his church; and fifteen to twenty students went to him to get their theological education, among whom was Hugh S. Fullerton. He died suddenly of apoplexy while on a visit to his eldest son at Oswego, Ill. A few days later, his body was buried at Greenfield, "with the lamentations of a great multitude of his congregation and neighborhood."—A. A. T.

FROM REV. DR. SAMUEL STEELE.

Criticisms of anti-slavery methods.

Hillsboro, O., Jan'y. 22nd, 1841.

Dear brother:

Your fraternal epistle has been read and pondered attentively. It is a fact that our anti-slavery press has got so far into the whirlpool of political action that other influences are well nigh overlooked; and perhaps the plan which you suggest is as good as any other to enable us as Christians, and ministers of the gospel, to discharge our duty to God and our fellow creatures, on the subject of slavery. To unite with the brethren whom you name, in this effort, would give me much pleasure; and let me suggest that it may be best not to form any organized

society; for these have become so numerous in late years as to excite the derision of some and to lead others to think that nothing can be done that is good without them. We see each other frequently in our respective neighborhoods, as well as at Presbytery, and once a year we hope to meet in Synod. Besides, if anything of importance demanded it, we could have a meeting at any time without such organization.

There should be one person to take charge of the matter, who would see to the printing, correcting the proof sheets, etc., and you are the very person. Perhaps, too, the publication could be issued from the press at Hamilton on as good terms as in Cincinnati.

I will take this opportunity to give my opinion as to the spirit in which the essays should be writted. If in a Christian style, without opprobrious and abusive epithets. I am not without hope that we can have access to the Southern mind to some considerable extent. But if we copy the violence of certain persons who shall be nameless, and indulge lavishly in such epithets as, man-stealers, villians, murderers, and the like, we will not only spoil our own tempers, but defeat our object. That there are slaveholders of this character cannot be doubted, but such are not likely to meet with our productions. And while there is manifestly a different class of them, among whom are found, in my opinion, truly pious persons,—the only class that we are likely to influence at present—so soon as a crusade of this description is preached, my name shall be withdrawn. If moral, persuasive, and religious influence will not move them, we must leave them to God's providential dealings, which may come, I fear, in the way of vengeance. The human mind when heated with any subject is prone to extremes. I have heard brethren say they would as soon commune with a horse-thief, as with a slaveholder; a declaration, in my opinion, evincing a state of mind that unfits a man for the proper discharge of his duty to his erring brethren.

I go not to the Columbus Convention, for various reasons: one is, that it was intended by many to be a place for political movements,—such as taking up a candidate for Governor, etc. Those who feel free to engage in such meetings, may do it without incurring my censure; but I prefer staying away.

Some notice of your Presbyterial difficulties appeared in the Christian Observer. I hoped that a course of this kind would have been adopted, viz; to refer in general terms to the amicable settlement between the Synod and Chillicothe Presbytery, and then resolve the Presbytery approve of that settlement; and are willing to terminate their own difficulties on the same principles. Would not this have been agreeable to all? Our Presbytery has acted with us in good faith, having cordially nominated a commissioner to the General Assembly.

Present me fraternally to the Oxford brethren when you see them.

Dr. Steele's life and influence. "A man greatly beloved and greatly loving".

NOTE. Rev. Samuel Steele, D. D., son of James and Ann (Smith) Steele, was born in the City of Londonderry, Ireland, in 1796. He had his early training in a classical school taught by Rev. Jno. Alexander of the Covenanter Church. He landed in this country in 1816; studied with his brother, a minister near Philadelphia, attended Princeton Seminary; was for a time private tutor at White Sulphur Springs, Va.; was licensed to preach in 1825, at Winchester, Ky., and preached for a time there and

at Richmond, Ky. After acting a time as agent for the Board of Education, in the West, in May, 1835, he was installed as pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Hillsborough, O., and so continued for the next thirty-five years, and until his death in 1869.

Dr. Galbraith, in his history of Chillicothe Presbytery, says Dr. Steele was "a man greatly beloved and greatly loving;" one of those who, holding long pastorates and being men of grace, culture and natural ability, gave character to and made the Presbytery of Chillicothe. At Hillsborough, he built up a large congregation, held them together as long as he lived, and when he died was greatly missed, and sincerely mourned. He was as unlike Dr. Crothers as two men could be; although they were the warmest friends. Dr. Crothers did the fighting: Dr. Steele was the beloved physician, pouring balm upon the wounded, and often, indeed, preventing a fight."—A. A. T.

FROM HIS MOTHER.

She thinks "There must be a sifting time." "God's judgments have been lingering." "The cry of the poor blacks and Indians has long gone up to His throne."

My Dear Son: Franklin, O. June 7th, 1839.

Your account of the Lord's doings at Oxford rejoiced my heart, and reminded me very much of the camp-meeting held there in '31. Oh! that the work may continue until many more souls shall be gathered in. I have been anxiously looking for a letter all this week to hear the closing of that meeting and the termination of the Conservative Convention; do let me know for I feel anxious. I believe this to be a very critical time with the pious people in America. I cannot prophesy what the Lord is going to bring about but there certainly must be a sifting time: God's judgments have been lingering, but certainly He is a God that will punish the guilty, and the cry of the poor blacks and Indians has long gone up before His throne for vengeance. My ear has been pained to hear the excuses and pleas made for slavery by good men; and now, if the anti-slavery men will lay the subject by as the pro-slavery men have done for years, what may we expect? Why exactly what has been the case with them as one said in the Assembly, after thirteen years laying it aside they will preach to the world that it is not a sin and is justified by the Bible, or Confession of Faith, or something,—for nowadays Confession of Faiths are our text-book, at least in Franklin; and last Sabbath we had a sermon as I do not wish to hear again from the decrees of God in the Confession of Faith. I was taken by guile. Mr. H. has been preaching from the Confession of Faith many Sabbath evenings, and I believe preached nearly all his congregation away, so much so that last Sabbath morning he told them it was an important subject and he should discuss it in the morning. I had hard times to keep my seat, my temper, and my tongue. I trembled every inch, and thought if I once got out of there, I should not get in again in a hurry, indeed I am tired of the Franklin Church. Wednesday evening, about twelve people, one man to pray and none to sing, and half that small congregation asleep! not so with the Methodists. Last night I went to their prayer meeting; perhaps eighty or ninety people, five or six engaged in prayer in the most lively, interesting manner; some old Christians that appeared on the threshold of eternity, and as if they had a glimpse of the heavenly Jerusalem. Others, young converts just brought in, appeared in earnest,

thanking God that they were plucked as brands from the everlasting burning; and their only desire seemed to be to save souls. This certainly leaves a soul in a better state than a long discussion to prove that they are in error. I know not what to do. I am not an Arminian, and yet I am sure my soul and the souls of my children get more good by one meeting among the Methodists than from ten among the Presbyterians. Mr. H. has put off to Kentucky, and some of his people are wishing he may be taken poorly, or as Dr. Thomas used to say, comfortably sick, and stop there awhile.

With Christian love to all the Hamilton friends,

I am, Yr. affectionate Mother,

E. R. Thomas.

FROM DAVID H. BRUEN, ESQ.,* A CLASSMATE AT OXFORD.

Anti-slavery mobs, and abuse of colored men at Dayton, Ohio; the story told by Mr. Bruen, then a lawyer there.

Friend Thomas: Dayton, Jany. 27, 1841.

Knowing that you feel a deep interest in the anti-slavery cause, I send you the following circumstances connected with its history in this place.

On Saturday last the Cincinnati delegates arrived here from Columbus, and quite late in the afternoon; the court house being obtained for that purpose, handbills were posted up through the town giving notice that Ex-Senator Morris would deliver a lecture there that evening, without naming the subject upon which he would speak. At dark, the house being lighted and fires made, Mr. Morris and several of the friends of the cause came in, and soon after the room was filled to overflowing by as rough a looking set of men as I ever saw. Mr. Morris seeing their complexion and evident purpose, at once told his friends he would not attempt to make an address unless he was requested to do so by the meeting. One of their leaders just then entered the Judge's stand and commenced reading a series of resolutions, such as a mob only would dictate, denouncing abolition and any attempt Mr. Morris might make to lecture on that subject; while another of their number stood upon the clerk's desk cursing and swearing and shaking his fists and calling for that d—d scoundrel that had come there to make a disturbance. The original object of the meeting was, of course, impracticable; and Mr. Morris being unknown by the mobites, retired unmolested. The whole scene in the Court House was one of indescribable confusion, disgraceful to the character of our flourishing town. They called upon many of the friends of the slave to make speeches; but were particularly clamorous for Morris; their language and manner indicating the usage he would have received at their hand. Baffled there, they adjourned to a coffee house opposite

* David H. Bruen, Esq., of Miami '34, died 1853. He was a brother of Maj. Luther B. Bruen, killed in the Wilderness.

Dr. Jewett's, and after consultation, determined to make a bonfire of a car belonging to the delegates who stopped with the Doctor. Getting wind of this, the delegates proceeded to harness their horses and remove it, and just as the driver was ready to mount the seat, the mob came upon them, throwing a shower of brickbats and knocked down the driver; the horses becoming frightened, started and drew the wheels of the car over the driver, ran off, and an hour after were overtaken a mile or so from the town. They also egged Jewett's house this night. The mob soon after dispersed.

The next day, being Sabbath, applications were made to some of the churches for some of the delegates who were ministers to occupy their pulpits; but the applications were refused in all save the Baptist Church. At the monthly anti-slavery prayer meeting in December, it was resolved that an attempt should be made to have notices of the next meeting read in the churches. Accordingly they were placed in the different pulpits, and read out in but two—the New School and the Methodist; in the latter it happened thus, a blind man preached, and at the conclusion requested a local preacher, a member of the Anti-Slavery Society to read the appointments; he did so, and read the above notice with the rest. Well, this announcement kindled the ire of the mob afresh, and they considered themselves insulted. They said it was defiance and decreed the prayer meeting should not be held. All day Monday, the previous occurrences and meeting at night were under lively discussion among the citizens. It seemed a settled point that Jewett's house, the place of meeting, would be razed to the ground, and all who attended in danger of their lives. It so happened, however, that through the active vigilance of the Mayor and his assistants, the members made their way through crowds of the mob; held a most interesting meeting, and retired at 9 o'clock unmolested, save by the hideous yells of the mob. Unfortunately the Mayor also soon after retired; then the fury of the demons of darkness began and only became partially relieved by hearing volleys of stones and other missiles thrown at the Doctor's windows and against his doors; and also by battering to pieces the house in which a poor colored man resided close by. After this ceased, a portion of them (seven) went to a negro house in the suburbs of the town; broke open the door, pretended to be in search of a white woman of loose character, and got into a quarrel with four negro men. The encounter must have been a desperate one, for after a long struggle, the whites were driven off, leaving one of their number dead upon the ground, and one or two others considerably wounded. You may imagine the excitement with which our town was filled all day Tuesday: the mob filled the streets all day; blood, blood, was all the cry. The negroes deserted their houses and scattered. Abolition houses were threatened; neighbor was

warning neighbor, and in the afternoon the last finish was given by circulating invitations to the funeral of a man *"murdered* by a negro". The Town Council met; strengthened the police; issued proclamation to all good citizens, etc., and this, with the commitment to jail of three or four negroes, had a tendency to allay excitement. The police prevented anything from being done, except the burning of one negro hut.

FROM THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF DAYTON.

Dayton Committee asks T. E. Thomas to speak on slavery in Dayton.

From the Anti-Slavery Society of Dayton.

Dayton, O., April 8, 1841.

Dear Sir:

At the last meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society of this place, the undersigned were appointed a committee to address you to procure your consent to deliver a public anti-slavery lecture or speech here, sometime during the present or succeeding month. The committee believes no more powerful plea can be urged for your compliance with the wishes of the Society, than that it is Dayton, *benighted* Dayton, asks your aid. The recent mobs here have, in their own way, contributed much to the advancement of anti-slavery principles. The published charge of Judge Helfenstein to the grand jury has had a salutary effect upon public opinion, and the members of the Society and other friends of the slave have labored with renewed energy and flattering prospects: the auspicious time seems to have arrived when another public effort should be made to establish free discussion upon a firm basis in this city, and thereby make it accessible to anti-slavery lectures.

D. H. Bruen,
S. Dunham,
Committee.

TO HON. CHARLES ANDERSON, MAYOR OF DAYTON, OHIO.

Seeks to know if there is freedom of speech in Dayton.

Rossville, May 29, 1841.

My dear Sir: In the Dayton Transcript of this day, I find an article headed "Abolitionism Again," respecting an address which I have been invited to deliver in your town. I say invited, for the statement that "a person calling himself Rev. T. E. Thomas appoints" etc., is altogether incorrect. Several respectable gentlemen of your place, as a committee in behalf of the Anti-Slavery Society of Dayton, requested me some time since, to

address them on the subject of slavery. This I agreed to do, supposing that the principal difficulty would be to procure an audience. The manifest design of the article above referred to, is to raise another riot and cause a repetition of the unhappy and disgraceful scenes of last Spring. I see, too, that a petition is to be addressed to the Mayor and Council (I believe you have the honor to be the Mayor,) requesting you "to PROHIBIT *the public promulgation of Anti-Slavery sentiments* among you!" that is, to destroy, so far as Dayton is concerned, that invaluable privilege secured by the constitution of our country, *freedom of speech*. Remembering the friendly relations which have hitherto subsisted between us, (and I trust will continue,) I hastily drop you these few lines, requesting by return mail your views of the course likely to be adopted by the authorities of Dayton, respecting the proposed meeting, if indeed, they deem it proper to adopt any.

Our views doubtless vary with respect to the slavery question; but I feel confident that should you or the Editor of the Transcript, fiery as he appears to be, listen to the sentiments I should advance on the subject you would find them by no means so disorganized as he imagines. The question, however, is simply this, Do the laws and constitution of Ohio maintain their wonted dignity in the town of Dayton?

Respectfully yours,
T. E. Thomas.

JOHN THOMSON AND HIS SONS.

NOTE. Mr. A. Thomson, now Treasurer of Wabash College, and in 1833 roommate of T. E. Thomas while students in Miami University, writes as follows:

Crawfordsville, Ind., May 15, 1891.

Dear Sir: My father, John Thomson, was born in 1782, in Westmorland County, Pennsylvania; and he died in 1859 at Crawfordsville, aged 86 years. Father was licensed to preach in Kentucky, and came to Ohio in 1801. Settling in Hamilton County, he located at Springdale (then called Springfield), as pastor of the Presbyterian Church, and so remained until 1832, when he removed to Crawfordsville. It was during the period along about 1820 to 1830, I think, that your grandfather and my father did so much missionary work together. My brothers, James, John S., William M., and Samuel S., were ministers. James came to Crawfordsville in 1827, and took charge of the Presbyterian Church, and was pastor of the same until 1838, when he became the pastor of the Center Church, and so remained until 1844. John S., was elected Professor of Mathematics in Wabash College in 1834, and continued such till his death in 1843. Samuel S., was Professor of Latin in Wabash from 1846 until his death in 1885. Wm. M., was born in 1806 at Springdale, O., and left this country as a missionary to Palestine in 1832: he is now living in Denver, Colo."

Rev. Dr. William McClure Thomson, who graduated at Miami University in 1828, remained about forty years in Palestine, and became well known in Europe and America as an accepted authority in the department

of archaeological research of the Holy Land, and as author of "*The Land and The Book.*"

FROM DR. JOS. F. TUTTLE, IN "THE CHURCH AT HOME AND ABROAD.

Who founded Wabash College? One result of the Oxford Mission Band's "failure."

"Wabash College originated in home missions. The father of the thought was Rev. James Thomson, who, when an undergraduate at Miami University, told President Bishop of his purpose to found a college somewhere in the Wabash country. In 1827 he became the first pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Crawfordsville, an infant town on Sugar Creek, a tributary of the Wabash. His original purpose was not forgotten, and it was frequently discussed with the few home missionaries occupying the field. They were known as "the College Brotherhood" from their interest in a college which existed only in their hearts. It included James Thomson, his brother, John S., Jas. A. Carnahan, Edmund O. Hovey, Martin M. Post and Samuel G. Lowry—all young men in the active ministry. With them were associated the Elders of the Crawfordsville church, especially one who previously had been prominent in founding Hanover College. I refer to Williamson Dunn, a native of Kentucky, for several years a resident at Hanover, Indiana, and an Elder in that church. He came to Crawfordsville in 1823 as register of deeds of the land office, and in 1829 he returned to Hanover. He was a noble Christian man, giving to Hanover College in 1825, the land on which to erect its first building, and in 1832 to Wabash College its original site."

FROM GAMALIEL BAILEY, M. D.

Suggestions for the meeting of the Ohio Anti-Slavery men.

Mr. Bayle:

Read this letter, and please hand it to Thomas if he should be there; or, if not, to Theo. D. Weld.

Cincinnati, Jany. 11, 1841.

Rev. T. E. Thomas,

Dear Friend:

I may not be present at the convention at Columbus, and as you will be a leader there, let me suggest a few things to your special attention.

1. You and Bayle, Weld and Butts, Barber and Guthrie, if he be there, and Blanchard and White ought to arrange the preliminaries of the meeting.

2. The call ought by all means to be read by the one who calls the meeting to order. It will be found in the Philanthropist of December 16th, which I send you by this mail. It embraces all persons, whether members of anti-slavery societies or not, who believe in the doctrine of immediate emancipation, and *are opposed to voting for pro-slavery candidates for office.*

3. You ought to have half a dozen or more Vice Presidents, to give the convention an important appearance.

4. Be sure and appoint first rate, careful scribes. No matter how really interesting a meeting may be, unless your secretaries be excellent, it will look meagre and flat on paper. I have always had to write the minutes out myself.

5. Purdy will probably be there. He is an amiable man, but will make you trouble unless you give him some office. Make him a Vice President.

6. I wrote to Leicester King, requesting his presence. I guess he will not be there. General Paine of Painesville will be the next best man for the chair, I think.

7. For the sake of everything precious in our cause, make no question about woman's rights. Several of our Quaker friends will be there with their wives, mothers, etc. By all means admit them all as delegates, if they apply. Let their names be enrolled without question. There is just now a great deal of jealousy on this point, owing to eastern quarrels. There need be none. We have always left the whole question to the good sense of the women. Let the same course be pursued in the convention.

8. As regards opening the meetings with prayer, there is a slight difficulty, easy to overcome. The Quakers,—you know their customs. Many of them, among the rest, Joseph Dugdale, a most amiable and influential man in his seat, will be present. They have been constantly censured by their brethren, for joining with others in this enterprise, and violating their consciences. Let us save them as much as we can; respect their consciences without violating our own. Instead of the chairman calling on some one to pray, in the opening of every meeting, let there be a *pause;* and also at the final close. Any one who chooses, may of course offer up a prayer voluntarily, during such a time. This would not offend the Quaker; only lay aside the form. You can easily manage all this, by previous consultation with the chairman, and having the matter understood among the leading members. We owe it to our Quaker friends.

9. Unless you adopt a rule, restricting speakers to ten or fifteen minutes on any question, you can't get along.

10. It has seemed to me that on Wednesday evening, there should be a regular, set address from some able speaker; after that, discussion of the business of the convention; also that Thursday A. M. there should be another address; and one that evening. Perhaps one or two on Friday morning; of this you can best judge on the spot. You ought to deliver one address; Mr. Keep and Mr. Weld another. He has written to me, signifying his intention to be there, and his desire to say something of his doings in the World's Convention. Mr. Blanchard, of course, must give an address.

11. The political and financial power of slavery should be handled by somebody pretty thoroughly. Get Morris to do this.

12. I do hope you will take the ground that no abolitionist ought to vote for a pro-slavery man; and I hope too that you will recommend to abolitionists to adopt, as a general rule, independent nominations.

13. Bring the subject of the Philanthropist specially before the meeting. Nearly all benevolent papers need extra aid. They have no advertising patronage to depend on. The Philanthropist has a very large exchange list. This is one source of great expense. A large number of copies is circulated gratuitously. We supply Congress, and our State Legislature, and should like to be able to send to the Indiana Legislature. More than 300 papers are consumed in this way. The State Treasury is now very much in debt. We came near stopping the paper this Winter. Never was there such a field for doing good, could we but keep the paper on its legs.

I have thus made all these suggestions. They may seem dictatorial. They are not so. You will of course, do with them what you please. I have hitherto so constantly attended all State meetings and have so frequently attended to all details, that I thought a few suggestions not amiss. Please excuse me.

II

TO PROFESSOR J. W. SCOTT, OXFORD.

On Dr. Junkin, and his opposition to anti-slavery effort at Oxford.

Rossville, Feb. 7, 1842.

It afforded me much pleasure, as well as some pain to receive your long communication last week.

So your good congregation has resolved, by a majority of one, that no more ab-o-li-tion, as our friend, Mr. Graham, calls it, shall be preached in your church! * * * *

No, Sir,—I hope to preach an anti-slavery sermon yet, in your church,—aye, and in the very face and eyes of Dr. Junkin, unless he fears to meet the truth. * * * *

A word or two as to the minority-effort to purchase the church. You ask whether our people would not aid you. You are aware that we have a debt yet unpaid upon our own church; but, what would be a still more serious difficulty, your anti-abolition majority would still adhere to you, even after you shall have purchased the building. And what assurance could we have that freedom of ministerial speech would be tolerated? By the way, will you procure for me a copy of the resolutions proposed and carried by Dr. J——? It is time that anti-slavery men should know the true principles of the man who stands at the head of Miami University.

Dr. Junkin; his education. Influences that brought about his presidency at Miami. Dr. Bishop brings on debate about slavery between T. E. Thomas and Dr. Junkin. Results of its publication. Dr. Junkin's later patriotism and service.

Note. Rev. Geo. Junkin, D. D., LL. D., was graduated at Jefferson College in 1813. He studied theology under Dr. Mason, in New York City, and, while engaged in pastoral work, after establishing the Milton Academy and the Penn. Manual Labor Academy, he became the first President of Lafayette College, at Easton, Pa. In the management of this institution, he was energetic and successful; and, at the same time, he became prominent, active and persistent in bringing about and prosecuting those doctrinal contentions, charges and "trials" which resulted in the

disruption of the Presbyterian Church into its Old and New School divisions.

The influences which had brought about the removal of Dr. Bishop from the Presidency of Miami University by its Board of Trustees, induced them to call to that position Dr. Junkin: he accepted and entered upon his duties in April 1841. The work devolving upon the new President was not pleasant: probably no one could have performed it with satisfaction and success. About him rallied and exulted all to which the character and principles of Dr. Bishop had ever stood opposed; and most prominently among these were first, the pro-slavery element; and second, those who held sectarian views so narrow that they were proud of the late dismemberment of the church. Still it seems indisputable that those who held these views constituted the bulk of the membership, or at least of the leadership of the Old School Presbyterian Church in that day.

The biographer of Dr. Junkin has written, in explanation of his brother's difficulties, that "about this time abolitionism was at its height." In no proper sense can abolitionism be said to have reached its "height," until that night in April, 1865, when Grant wrote Sheridan not to go against the Southside railroad, but to stay with him, for "he felt like ending the matter."

In 1843, in the Synod of Cincinnati, which met in T. E. Thomas' church at Hamilton, Ohio, Dr. Bishop introduced certain resolutions against slavery that brought on the debate between Dr. Junkin and T. E. Thomas, which is sufficiently referred to elsewhere in this correspondence. Its publication soon afterwards, seems to have given satisfaction to both parties: it made a longer continuance of Dr. Junkin at the head of Miami University impossible; but his argument in defense of slavery was widely circulated and commended in the Southern States. The pro-slavery element in the church gave him the first and highest reward in its power; it made him Moderator of the next General Assembly, which met at Louisville, Ky., in 1844. Custom entitled him to be returned to the next General Assembly, and to be chairman of its Committee on Bills and Overtures to whom were sent all memorials against slavery. This committee recommended that they be sent to a special committee, of which the chairman was Dr. N. L. Rice. This Committee reported the notorious Act on Slavery of 1845, so often referred to in this volume.

When the Rebellion broke out, Dr. Junkin was seventy-one years old. From the beginning of the attempt to carry Virginia into secession, to the end of his life, all that he did merits the highest honor.

In the next seven years, it is said Dr. Junkin delivered about seven hundred sermons, and political addresses sustaining

the cause of the Union and its defenders. His activity during this period amazed his friends. Though not a delegate, he attended the General Assembly at Philadelphia, in 1861; and warmly advocated the celebrated Spring Resolutions adopted by that body. In this, his conduct brought upon him the criticism of many, including probably his brother and biographer, whose Scotch-Irish proclivities inclined them to be splitting hairs about constitutional checks and balances, when the rebel flag was in sight of the National Capitol. These things could not move him, for the patriotism of Dr. Junkin was now "at its height." While the war lasted, he was untiring in his efforts to relieve the suffering from both armies, in the field, the hospital and the prison. He was said to have been the first non-combatant on the field of Gettysburg on an errand of mercy. —A. A. T.

Dr. Junkin's Synodical Speech in defense of American Slavery, was published in Dec., 1843. My father wrote and published a Review of this, in a pamphlet of 130 pages, to which he gave more labor than anything that ever came from his pen. It begins thus:

"We have just received, through the politeness of the printer, a pamphlet of some eighty pages, bearing the above title. Abolitionists have been compelled to exclaim, in the language of Job, "O that one would hear me! * * * and that mine adversary had written a book!" Accustomed to meet in deliberative, legislative, and we are sorry to add, in ecclesiastical bodies, no other opponent than a silent but overwhelming vote; and to find all opportunity of advocating the truth cut off by the paltry trick of raising the question of reception, or the man-trap of the Previous Question, they cannot but hail it as an omen of good, and rejoice as in a sure pressage of final success, when the defenders of slavery are compelled to meet them in debate; and especially, when they are willing to stamp their thoughts on the enduring page. Certainly we rejoiced, (though our joy was mingled with regret for the mischief it would occasion,) when first we heard that the notorious synodical speech of the President of Miami University, was in the hands of the printer. We regard its publication as an important step toward the thorough and universal investigation of the slavery question, in the Presbyterian Church."

There follows to this pamphlet this:

APPENDIX.

Just as the preceding pages were prepared for the press, we received the following communication from the venerable Dr. Bishop, which, with the accompanying letter, we here present to the public.

My Dear Friend:

I make free to forward you a few of my Christmas thoughts on the Eight hours speech. If it is agreeable to you, and if you shall be convinced that it will be of any service, either to you, or the good cause, you may have them printed and published in the form in which they now stand, at the close of your full and particular reply * * * Provided we have come to the same result, it may be a benefit to the cause, with some minds, to see that the very same conclusions maybe obtained by a somewhat different arrangement, or different mode of reasoning. * * * * May the Lord bless and direct and support you.

Sincerely yours,
R. H. Bishop.

Oxford, Ohio, December 26, 1843.

SUMMARY REVIEW

Dr. Junkin's late pamphlet, of 79 pages, demands some attention; for—

I. A publication of this kind must be very acceptable to the many, both within and without the visible church, whose consciences are somewhat awakened to the inconsistency of American slavery with Christian character, and Christian standing.

II. The form in which the argument is presented, is exceedingly plausible; and yet,

III. The whole argument, from beginning to end, is deceptive:—only fallacy upon fallacy."

I omit Dr. Bishop's text, giving only one paragraph to get a touch of his mind on the subject.

"The duties to their servants, whether believing or unbelieving, directly enjoined upon believing masters, are of such a nature, that, if they were punctually and faithfully performed, they would naturally abolish slavery in every Christian family, in less than one generation. These duties and directions are still enjoined and addressed, by the same authority, to every Christian church, and to every Christian man; and if they were understood, and honestly attended to, the results would be just what they were in the apostolic days."

OVERTURE OF OXFORD PRESBYTERY TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON SLAVERY.

To the Moderator and Members of the General Assembly:

The Presbytery of Oxford respectfully and earnestly request the General Assembly, at their present meeting, to adopt some course of action, by which the Assembly's act of 1818, relative to slavery, may be rendered efficient.

March 17, 1842.

Ayes: J. W. Scott, Moderator; A. B. Gilliland; P. N. Galliday; T. E. Thomas; Wm. Patterson; S. B. Smith; Elders, Neri Ogden; A. B. Andrews; M. C. Williams; M. C. Browning. Nayes: A. Craig; J. McArthur; T. E. Hughs. Elders, Geo. Arnold; Thomas Dungan; John McGahen. Non Liquet, D. B. Reece.

A true extract from the minutes of Oxford Presbytery.

Thomas E. Hughs, Stated Clerk.

Rev. James Gilliland. Service as abolition leader in Southern Ohio. His son, Rev. Adam B. Gilliland.

NOTE. Rev. James Gilliland was born in North Carolina in 1769; graduated from Dickinson College, and became pastor of the Broadway Church in South Carolina, in 1796. Twelve members of his congregation protested, charging him with "preaching against the government:" this he denied, but admitted he had preached against the sin of slavery. The Presbytery enjoined him "to be silent in the pulpit on the subject." The Synod on appeal, held that "to preach publicly against slavery would open the way to great confusion." To reach a land of free speech, he removed to Brown Co., Ohio, in 1805, where he became and remained pastor of the Red Oak Church, and preached constantly against slavery for the next thirty-five years. In 1820 he published a pamphlet on the subject that had a wide circulation. Gen. Birney says that "from 1805 to 1822, he was the recognized abolition leader in Southern Ohio." Abolition-

ists are justly deserving of rank according to their respective priorities of date. Rev. James Gilliland was the first Presbyterian minister on the roll. The Dickeys and Crothers came later; and Rev. John Rankin's date was 1815.

Rev. James Gilliland died in 1845; was the father of thirteen children, two of whom were lawyers, and one a Presbyterian minister.

The latter, Rev. Adam B. Gilliland, was born in North Carolina, in 1794; graduated at Jefferson College in 1821; studied theology with his father at Red Oak; became pastor at Hillsborough, Ohio; and, in 1829, took charge of Bethel Church, Butler Co. Ohio, where he remained ten years. It was at his house and church there, on a communion occasion, that the accidental meeting between Thomas Thomas and Dr. Bishop took place, which gave my father his opportunity for an education. Dr. Thomas left the church at Harrison, O., chiefly to bring about an exchange which made Rev. Mr. Gilliland pastor of the Church at Venice, which Rev. Thomas Thomas had built, and where Mr. Gilliland continued for the next twenty years. He died in 1885, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. A. W. Anderson, in Dayton, O., and was buried near Thomas Thomas in the church yard at Venice, O.

As a delegate in the General Assembly of 1845, the name of Adam B. Gilliland has the honor of being one of the thirteen recorded against the Resolution of Dr. Nathan L. Rice, asserting the Biblical sanction of slavery, adopted that year.—A. A. T.

FROM REV. DR. SAMUEL CROTHERS.

Dr. Junkin in the slave controversy. Shall the Church divide on the question?

Greenfield, Ohio, Nov. 7, 1843.

For some weeks past I have purposed to write to you in a day or two, but have daily, by some means or other, been prevented. I wish to say that the community, so far as I know public sentiment, are expecting you to publish, in some way or other, a review of Dr. Junkins speech in favor of the *tolerated evil*, slaveholding. From the self-complacency manifested at Hamilton, I have supposed he will be simple enough to publish in pamphlet form. In that event, your speech in reply, so far as you can recollect it, ought by all means to follow. My principal object in writing now is to say that I have no intention of answering him. For many reasons which are obvious and which need not be dilated, the public will expect you to do it. Even if it should be ascertained that Junkin will not publish, I think you ought to review his speech. It could be circulated in pamphlet form, and distributed in the same way that "Facts for the People" are circulated.

I supposed that Dr. Junkin's good opinion of his performance will be increased if it be true, as the Presbyterian of the West insinuates, that he lent it to Mr. Graham, and that none of the new school Synod at Carlisle undertook to reply; and that "Professor Stowe, the best qualified to judge, admitted that the interpretation and principles of interpretation were correct". I cannot think of Graham subscribing the pastoral letter written by J. H. Dickey against the horrible sin of slavery, and then using the arguments of Dr. Junkin against the horrible sin of abolitionism, without indulging myself in old Dr. Nesbit's famous soliloquy—"poor human nature".

I believe the discussion at Hamilton has been productive of good. I have heard from Cincinnati and other quarters, the opinion of men of the world, who were spectators, and the prevailing opinion appears to be that Dr. Junkin must alter his course or leave Miami University.

We had two days of powerful lecturing by those Garrison men, White and Douglass, in this place, lately. The latter is an extraordinary man. He has the talents of T. D. Weld, and the self-complacency of Junkin. I think, upon the whole, he did much good. But I confess, I do not like to be identified with Garrison abolitionists. I believe the machinery which they are employing is calculated to overturn every good institution, human or divine; and the sooner it is known that they and we belong to schools entirely different, the better it will be for the cause of truth and righteousness in general, and abolition in particular.

My mind has not undergone any change on the subject of our late correspondence. I consider secession as very unwise. But I am not sure that I shall not vote against sending a commissioner to the next General Assembly. To our vote on that question at the last meeting of our Presbytery, we are indebted, in my opinion, for the fine speech at Synod by brother Steele. And some movement of that kind, in future, will be necessary to keep up the abolition steam of him and some others. Next week he expects to bring home a wife, the daughter of Rev. R. Stewart of West Lexington Presbytery, a slaveholder; but it is said she has liberated her slaves, four in number.

Dr. Bishop; his origin, history, poverty, character, education. Does not "drift to Kentucky". Goes to Lexington; indicted for opening sabbath-schools for slaves. Called to Miami. What students could get from him. His definition of Presbyterianism. Resists disruption of the church. Activity as an anti-slavery man, and its consequence. Removal, and defense against charges. Injury to Miami resulting. His death; will; burial.

Note. Rev. Robert Hamilton Bishop, D. D., was born about twenty miles from the City of Edinburgh, in Linlithgowshire, in 1777. He was one of a family of seventeen children. His father's name was William Bishop, and Robert H. was the eldest of thirteen children, the issue of his marriage to his second wife, Margaret Hamilton. His more remote ancestors were zealous covenanters, and suffered in the persecutions. His parents belonged to the Secession Church, and had the character, piety, plainness and poverty of that peasantry which is the wonder and glory of Scotland.

Placed, when very young, in a primary school where the chief books used were the Bible and the Shorter Catechism, he thoroughly memorized these, and they continued to be the chief books to him throughout his life. When twelve years old, he became a member of the church then under the charge of Dr. John Brown, a son of John Brown of Haddington, and father of Dr.. John Brown of Edinburgh.* The latter was his school and college mate and correspondent in after years.

* Author of Rab and His Friends.

Like the father of Thomas E. Thomas, Robert H. Bishop passed his early years as a shepherd boy. At the age of sixteen, his father sent him, with no proper preparation, to commence the study of Greek in Edinburgh University, but was able to pay his expenses there only the first session of one year. In his perplexity, Robert was about to enter the King's service, either in the army or navy; but, going back to Edinburgh, in 1794, to see if it were possible in any way to proceed with his education, he thus afterwards described his success:

"What was I to do, or how was I to be supported, I knew not. But having with great diffidence introduced myself to Professor Finlayson, at the close of one of his introductory lectures, to ascertain from him the lowest terms on which he would permit me to attend his instructions, he, with great frankness, without enquiring who I was or whence I came, immediately replied, that if I were a young man worth attending to, he would not only admit me to his course without charge, but also secure me the same privilege from the other professors, during the four years' course. And he did so. The college sessions were only five months in the year, and I taught school during the Summer months; and as an acknowledgement to the Father of mercies, for his kindness through the professors in Edinburgh, I admitted into my little college always one, and sometimes two scholars without charge".

In after years Dr. Bishop wrote:

"I commenced the study of political and moral science forty years ago, under two of the most distinguished men of their day. Professors Finlayson and Dugald Stuart. The former of these is scarcely known except by his pupils; yet as an accurate thinker, and an attentive observer of human nature, and as to his exciting the minds of his students to proper exertions, he was in no way inferior to his celebrated fellow-laborer who delivered his lectures to an enraptured audience in an adjoining room".

While Dr. Bishop acknowledged always, and seriously felt, all through his life, the want of a thorough preparatory or grammar education, there is no doubt that he took from these great instructors, in a high degree, not only the zeal for, but also the gift to impart knowledge. In the "faculty for teaching," no man of my acquaintance ever equaled the late William Smith, Principal of the Dayton High School. Among other things he had a peculiar gift, *by questions alone*, of inducing a pupil to first discover and then correct his own mistakes. This avoids correction and statement by the teacher, which does not, in the words of Dr. Bishop, "excite the pupil's mind." This faculty, William Smith learned from Prof. R. H. Bishop, who got it from his father. Although here unable to demonstrate this claim, I always believed the method came from Dr. Adam Smith of the Edinburgh High School: if so,

"How far that little candle threw its beams".

When twenty-two, young Bishop entered the Theological Hall or School of the Burgher Synod at Selkirk, on the Ettrick

River. In 1801, Rev. Dr. John M. Mason,* of New York City, visited the Burgher Synods of Scotland, to obtain a supply of preachers for the American Burgher or Associate Reformed Churches: and there addressed the students at Selkirk. From his lips, and with the liveliest interest, young Bishop heard of the needs and opportunities of the Western World. More than fifty years later, in some reminiscences, Dr. Bishop wrote: "Some two or three weeks afterwards, on returning home from the Theological class, I stopped over one night at Edinburgh and late in the evening, I and another student met Dr. Mason at the crossing of two streets. Had either of us been two or three minutes earlier or later at the spot, the meeting could not have taken place. He invited us to his lodgings, and we passed an hour or two with him in conversation. From that accidental interview originated an engagement on my part to go to America."

Mr. Bishop was married to Ann Ireland, at Bucklaven, on the Firth of Forth, and embarking immediately in company with Dr. Mason and five ordained ministers, he landed in New York in October, 1802. It was proposed he should remain in that city, but by the casting vote of the presiding officer in Presbytery, he was sent to Kentucky. For the next five years, he "itinerated as a missionary" in the Miami Valley, and also in portions of Kentucky. In 1804, he was appointed Professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy and afterward filled the chair of Nautral Philosophy, and then of History in Transylvania University, at Lexington; and so continued for the next twenty years, and until his resignation and removal from the State.

That Dr. Bishop was the best instructor Transylvania ever had, there seems to be little doubt; nor that his character made a lasting impression for good upon the better class of people in that State. This reputation served a good purpose in drawing to Miami, later on, some of the best students which that institution received. Of his earlier itinerant days, Dr. Bishop has written:

"No individual could have been more cordially received than I was during my eighteen months traveling; nor can any words express the satisfaction which I enjoyed in nearly all my social intercourse, both public and private. My hopes of ultimate success in being instrumental in planting churches almost without number, and on the purest and most efficient models, were strong; and these hopes were cherished and strengthened by almost every circumstance. Kentucky and the Miami Valley appeared to me not only the garden of America, but the garden of the world; and were fixed upon in my mind, not only to be filled with a dense population, but to be the center of influence to the future States and future nations of the Mississippi Valley".

Yet in his autobiographical sketch, we have some singular pictures of the State of Presbyterianism in Kentucky, in those

* Dr. Jno. M. Mason did his full share for the abolition cause in Southern Ohio. He educated Dr. Samuel Crothers; and he brought Dr. R. H. Bishop to America.—A. A. T.

pioneer days. Dr. Bishop's activities could not be confined to college work. Each week, and on Sundays, he preached to different churches. These were rent with divisions and contentions about the merest trifles. For four years, he himself was, as he says, "under ecclesiastical process." These contentions seem to have driven him from the Associate Reformed into the Presbyterian Church. With the former, "The Sabbath when they had no preaching of their own, was a mere day of idleness, as it was a settled point that they could neither themselves attend worship, nor allow their families to attend with any who did not use the old version of the Psalms. The greater part of their conversation on religious subjects, whether on the Sabbath or on other days, was the errors and extravagance of other denominations." "Almost every congregation was in a state of organized opposition to some neighboring Presbyterian congregation with which it had formerly been connected." To help in contentions at Presbytery, "Elders, properly instructed, were sometimes brought from Tennessee and other extremities."

During these years he had full opportunity to see and learn and know what the system of American slavery meant. In those days, however, the bitterness of the system had not yet come to master or slave. The vast plantation states of the southwest had not then been settled; and in the drain to fill and refill them, the cruel separations of colored families that were to come, were a thing not realized, although impending. Dr. Bishop, on one occasion, records his horror at giving the communion, among others to a woman who was to be sold at auction next day by another communicant. He often preached and labored among poor slaves, and was constant in his efforts to give them some education and religious instruction. He states that he "organized the first Sabbath-schools which were opened in Lexington for that portion of our fellow mortals." Dr. H. S. Fullerton, in his printed review of the Assembly's action on Slavery, in 1845, states that "Dr. Bishop was more than once returned to the Grand Jury, for opening a Sabbath-school for slaves in Lexington."

Probably no man in the West was so well fitted to be President of Miami University as was Dr. Bishop when called to the work, in 1824. The difficulties to be overcome had been his lot for twenty-five years. With the people from whom its students must come, he had a wide and personal acquaintance. In the next twenty years, and until about 1845, the good he did, and the impression he made upon young men in the West, can, in results, never be effaced. Sprague, in "Annals of the American Pulpit," says that "in educational work in the West, Dr. R. H. Bishop was the strongest individual influence of his generation." He was followed, not immediately, but soon, by men who were equally devoted, and of better scholarship, but they

did not "excite" and impress the minds of their pupils as he did, and as they need to be excited and impressed to get the results he strove for. I think no one has claimed that Miami University ever had a President equal to him. General Birney, in his "Life and Times of James G. Birney," says, "Dr Bishop's character and influence are a tradition in many families." I have tried to get at the secret of this influence, and am by no means certain that I understand it. His own mother and Dr. Bishop were the two influences, not conflicting, but much alike, which formed my father's character. For Dr. Bishop he had a mingled feeling of affection, respect and gratitude, which these letters but inadequately describe. In one of my father's letters, he states that he left Oxford with no creditable amount of scholarly acquisition; yet he went thence with something gained there which is harder to impart than scholarship. Carlyle criticised the genius of Sir Walter Scott, because it contained "too little of the sacred fire that will burn up the sins of the world." Every year there went forth from the tutelage of Dr. Bishop a little band of young men aflame with that sacred fire: no temptations, no discouragements, no opposition, no poverty, no time, no fate could quench it: it illuminates the pages of this Correspondence, —otherwise they cannot be read!

Regarding the pupils of Dr. Bishop, it must be remembered too, that they came to him, almost with no exception, without that proper and necessary preparation and fitting for the work he was expected to do. Every teacher knows what is involved in taking pupils without, or with uneven preparation, and trying to get creditable and uniform results from them when taught as a whole. Dr. Bishop did not get uniform results. The wonder has been the number of students that have reached creditable position, or done important work, who were in some part, under his instruction. The present President of the United States wrote to him:

Mouth Miami, August 28, 1850.

Dr. R. H. Bishop,

Having for some years enjoyed the benefits of your instruction, and being now about to pass from under your care, it would be truly ungrateful were I not to return my warmest thanks for the lively interest you have ever manifested in my welfare and advancement, in religious as well as scientific knowledge. The advancement which I have made but serves to show how much greater it might have been with proper diligence and study. Though I shall no more take my accustomed seat in your class-room, I would not this separation should destroy whatever interest you may have felt in my welfare. Whenever you may see anything in my course which you deem reprehensible, be assured that any advice which may suggest itself under whatever circumstances or on whatever subject, can never meet with other than a hearty welcome.

Yours sincerely,
Benjamin Harrison.

To discover bright and ambitions boys in obscurity and poverty,* to give them such help and encouragement that by frugality, they could support themselves; to gather them together and teach them personally for years; to imbue them with his own principles and doctrines, and to send them out to contend for these; and then watch and guide them as they made a way in the world,—that surely would be exquisite pleasure to any educated man. Just this was the delight, the occupation and pride of Dr. Bishop for fifty years. Who doubts that he had his reward?

He is remembered as always full of praise for what was worthy of praise in men and things about him. It was his custom to deliver and publish many obituary addresses, not elaborate or great, but more notable than his audiences in that day (or since) were accustomed to hear, which made a lasting impression on surviving friends. He loved biography not only of the great, but as well of those who were worthy and unknown. He delivered such an address in the college chapel at Oxford, on the death of Rev. Thomas Thomas, as my father never forgot. Of Thomas Thomas he said, among other things, that "he had a large library and a mind of the first order." Dr. Bishop had an odd way of putting things together. In an old MS. I once saw, he said of his own father, "At 10:20 a. m., my father returned from the harvest field with a pain in his bowels, and at 11:30 he died with glory on his lips and glory on every feature of his countenance."

In 1833, Dr. Bishop preached in Cincinnati and published a sermon entitled "A Plea for United Christian Action, addressed particularly to Presbyterians;" and as showing his style, a few sentences from this address may be well quoted here:

> The term Presbyterianism is like all other isms in theology—it may be very well understood for all practical purposes, and yet when used in controversy, may be very vague and equivocal and ambiguous. Dr. Rogers of New York, who is acknowledged on all hands to have been one of the fathers of the Presbyterian Church in North America, is said to have said, "That he always found it extremely difficult to make a Scotchman understand what American Presbyterianism was."
>
> "American Presbyterianism is like our common Christianity. Its

* I append and quote from my address in 1894, at the Steele High School in Dayton.

> "In vacation times, the custom of Dr. Bishop was to take long horseback rides, without destination, stopping wherever people were gathered together. He knew what he was searching for. One night—it was in 1829,— in an attic bedroom of a farm house on the banks of the Miami River, near Jersey Church, opposite Franklin, in Warren County, he found my father, then an unknown boy seventeen years old, eager to learn but unable to proceed. I have my father's letter describing that interview. 'My head,' he writes, 'spun like a top when Dr. Bishop at last said, 'Come, and I will engage in some way to find means to enable you to stay.' "

great and leading features are few, simple, and very easily understood; but the modifications and applications of these leading features are remarkably diversified. These leading features are, equality of rank among all her leading elders; a regular gradation of church courts; and an adherence to the doctrines of the Westminster Confession of Faith, with the Catechisms, Larger and Shorter, as being the system of doctrines contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. To these may be added, practically, though not theoretically, maintaining the necessity of a learned ministry. Wherever I find these features substantially maintained, I find a Presbyterian, and a Presbyterian just such as John Knox was, and as the great body of the Presbyterians in Great Britain and Ireland have always been since the Reformation."

It was the peculiar happiness of the Tennents, and the Blairs, and of Davies, and of Rogers, and Witherspoon, and of the other fathers of the General Assembly Presbyterians in North America, that they understood well the great and leading, the essential features of genuine Presbyterianism; and that they could divest these essential features of localities, and adapt the system to the state of society which was forming in these now United States. The great evil under which all the other branches of the Presbyterian Church in America have labored, and under which they still labor, is an attempt to introduce into the American soil, and into an American state of society, the peculiarities of distant countries, and of remote and distant ages. And yet these peculiarities are no more essential to Presbyterianism than they are to Christianity itself."

Probably Dr. Bishop's position and influence at Oxford were never so assured and commanding as about the time of my father's graduation, in 1834; and to the graduates of those days, there then appeared in the institution, a glow of ambition, of industry and of devotion not so noticeable in former or after days. The first disturbing element was the disruption of the Presbyterian Church in 1837. Against this, Dr. Bishop set himself with all his power, and it seemed at one time that he must leave the church from his refusal to recognize or adhere to either faction. Later on, the stand he took, and indeed some phases of his character, are well disclosed by the following communication which we find in Dr. Bishop's hand writing, among my father's papers:

To the Moderator of the Presbytery of Oxford,
to meet at Venice on the day of March, 1845,
or when and wheresoever said Presbytery
may meet:

Dear brother:

A variety of circumstances over which I have had no control, has led me to believe that it is now a duty which I owe to you and to myself and to many others, to request of you, as I hereby do, that you will be pleased to give me a regular dismission from your venerable body, and if consistent with your principles and feelings, give me a recommendation to the Presbytery of Cincinnati (New School) as in good Christian and ministerial standing. I make this application:

I. Not from any change in my opinions as to any principles contained in the Westminster Confession, or in the Catechism, Larger or Shorter, or in the form of Presbyterial Government as expressed in the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in these United States.

II. Nor have I any dissatisfaction with any of the modes of ecclesiastical operation, through the Education, or Publishing, or Domestic or

Foreign Missionary Boards of the Assembly. On the contrary, I sincerely and truly desire that every minister and elder and every member in the Connection would duly appreciate all the arrangements connected with these Boards, and act in all cases with Christian vigor and faithfulness in carrying out these objects.

III. Much less have I any dissatisfaction, either personal or official, with any of the members of the Presbytery of Oxford. I only lament that I have done so little in the great and good work in which they are engaged. I cheerfully recognize them as beloved and faithful brethren in our Lord Jesus Christ, and heartily sympathize with them in all their labors and difficulties and sorrows; and hope that each of them will in due time know fully the import of the declaration: "He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him".

My reasons for the present application, if I know myself, are simply and only these:

I. It is well known to all the brethren, that I have always considered the division of the Presbyterian Church, which took place in 1837, as not only unnecessary, but *sinful*.

II. It is equally well known that that division has never affected me personally; and that I have ever since, and up to this very hour, enjoyed the Christian and ministerial and ecclesiastical communion of the brethren and churches and courts of each division, as fully and freely and comfortably as ever I did before the division took place.

III. My time of sojourning and service here, cannot in the nature of things be much longer. I must work while it is day. I have a strong desire, therefore, in this way, to give my public and likely my dying testimony to my honest belief and experience that the Presbyterian Church in these United States, though ecclesiastically in two general divisions, is in fact still only *ONE* body, and one of the departments of the Army of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I wish to follow our departed brother Craig (whose funeral I attended on the last Sabbath of June last) into the General Assembly and Church of the First Born, hand-in-hand with brother Beecher; and I hope that brother Wilson will, (only a few steps behind or before), hand-in-hand with some other brother of the New School Connection, take his place in the same happy company.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

R. H. Bishop.

While it was true that the division in the church "never affected Dr. Bishop personally," his serious and unremitting opposition to it did affect his hold on the community,—such was the bitterness of the times,—over a question so trifling that we have difficulty in getting any intelligent Presbyterian of to-day to plainly say or admit what the difference or cause of separation was. Still, all this could not have affected the hold of Dr. Bishop at Oxford, had there not been added his zeal and activity in the Anti-Slavery cause, into which he cast his whole weight. His determination was to compel the Presbyterian Church to take Anti-Slavery ground, and so assist in arresting the onward progress of slavery, and ultimately remove the curse from American soil. This volume shows some touches of certain lines of his activity; although little remains in print, from his pen, on the subject. The letters here published show the continuation of this contest, set on foot by Dr. Bishop; modified

later on by Dr. MacMaster, and so fought out by him, and by Dr. Thomas, as this record discloses. In this contest, Dr. Robert H. Bishop was the first to fall; and his removal from the presidency of Miami University was the first and costliest sacrifice demanded and obtained by the pro-slavery element in the Presbyterian Church in the Northwest.* This occurred in 1840: Dr. Bishop was deposed into a professorship, where he remained until 1845, when, for the sole reasons above stated, he and Prof. Scott,—the most accomplished professor Miami ever had, and an early and efficient abolitionist,—were both removed under the avowed pretext of "harmonizing the views of all parties."

The successor of Dr. Bishop was chosen and named by that same Princeton influence which dominated the Presbyterian Church in the interest of slavery, for a generation, and until the beginning of the war of 1861. He appeared in Dr. Junkin, a robust champion of the biblical sanction of human slavery, and who had been of all men in the East, most prominent in bringing about the Presbyterian disruption into its Old and New School divisions.

In their action of 1840, the Trustees of Miami University were sore pressed for avowable reason for their action; and they found it in the formal charge that the president had been derelict in duty in not rigidly collecting tuition fees from indigent students. Recollection of the day had never been absent from the mind of Dr. Bishop, when, a penniless and awkward country boy, he had hung around the professor's room in Edinburgh University to ascertain "the lowest terms" on which he might taste the sweets of learning; nor of the immeasurable blessings to himself and others which the grace then accorded him had brought. To the above charge he pleaded guilty, and filed a defense from the MS. of which I quote:

"I freely admit that there were cases where a more rigid enforcement of the regulation would have secured some payments which have been lost. These cases were, however, few, when compared with those of another nature. Had the regulation in every case been rigidly enforced, a far larger number from whom there was ultimately no loss, would never have entered, or would not have been continued. One-half of the graduates of 1840, who have since liquidated all their debts, would have been forced to go home; some of them in their Junior year, and others at the commencement of their Senior year; had advance-payments been essentially necessary to their continuance as students. Besides, no public, literary institution can ever ultimately suffer from being indulgent

* On the question of the removal of Dr. Bishop, among those voting aye, was P. P. Lowe, of Dayton; but twenty years later he gave housing and hospitality to Dr. MacMaster when he was outcast and had the Philistines upon him in this same cause; for this *Sit tibi terra levis.*—A. A. T.

in this respect, to otherwise promising young men. I add to all, that my personal responsibilities, and the personal responsibilities of one or two who acted with me, in behalf of those who would otherwise have left the institution during 1839-1840, were upwards of $2000. The details in connection with this class of facts can be given at any time, to any of the genuine friends of Miami University."

The removal of Drs. Bishop and Scott did an injury to Miami University greater than could be at the time realized, and which has never been overcome. Dissensions and dissatisfaction that ensued withdrew interest in its welfare and a support on which that welfare depended. The old reputation of the institution long survived its character and its deserts. But lately a new president and new faculty took possession, deserving in all respects of students who did not come.

Of all Dr. Bishop's children, perhaps the most able and scholarly was George, his companion and eldest son. In him, his father saw with unconcealed delight a promise of all he thought a young man ought to be, when this son became professor of Biblical Literature in the Seminary then attached to Hanover College. His sudden death there, in 1837, broke the old man's heart. No cry, no complaint escaped his lips when this loss was mentioned, only loud and redundant praises of the mercy and goodness of God. But from this time on, his pupils and acquaintances noticed that a certain rough jocundity which had been his habit, was gone; and into his public addresses there came more and more those quaint and exquisite descriptions of a life in the world to come. Indeed, Dr. Bishop always taught his pupils to live as if on a campaign and away from home, whence a recall and tidings might be looked for at any hour.

Through the agency chiefly of General Samuel F. Cary and of his brother, the late Freman G. Cary, Esq., Dr. Bishop became president of Farmer's College at College Hill, near Cincinnati, Ohio. The number of students here in attendance was large but of miscellaneous preparation and grade, yet upon many of them the President made an impress never forgotten. Here the alumni of Miami built him a home that sheltered his old age. He died in 1855. "I give," he said in a characteristic will, "I give my soul to the Redeemer, as I have often endeavored to do, to be received on the same condition that the thief on the cross was received. I give my body to the Directors of Farmer's College to be enclosed in a metallic-lined box, and to be placed in a mound to be formed of successive layers of sand and earth, which shall have no artificial monument, but only an evergreen tree thereon." The other day, the Presbytery in session at College Hill, went out and held services around the grave of Dr. Bishop. His pupils are widely scattered and his memory

must remain "only a tradition in many families." But there are many living, and long will be, who remember with reverence that little mound at College Hill; and the sons of Dr. Thomas want to place a wreath upon it.—A. A. T.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

Dr. Bishop: his faults; graces; singular power in public addresses at times. J. Cabell Breckenridge's funeral. Warm Kentucky friendship for Bishop.

NOTE. Like Lincoln, Dr. Bishop suffered for his unconventionality: he was homespun, and was born, and died a Scotch peasant. Over some faults, old age throws her mantle of charity and grace.

Yet he was habitually courtly. He could go up to a lady in a large company of cultivated people, and speak to her in a way that would make her feel distinguished the rest of the day, and yet she could not remember that he had said anything, and in fact he had not.

You rightly say he had a hot temper and was capable of a mighty wrath. Thoughtless persons at times suddenly found this out. My mother who died last year, aged eighty-seven, was brought to Hamilton as a bride, in 1840. She was full of stories about Dr. Bishop which she would tell when the spirit moved her. She told me this.

Once, in chapel service, a boy was playing comic pranks. The students said President Bishop "prayed with one eye open" and caught him *flagrante delictu*. Without stopping in his prayer, he leaped upon the culprit's shoulders and bore him to the floor.

No printed report gave adequate expression of the singular effect of the Doctor's addresses upon these Western audiences. Men and women would go away from his meetings roused and excited, unable to tell why they felt so. Of course, one secret of this power was moral earnestness; Carlisle sometimes had this. Froude who reported his "Inaugural as Rector of the University of Edinburg" wrote, "At times the assemblage seemed moved as by subterranean fires."

Once in trying to express the regret that I had not helped my father, I quoted Carlisle's words in like case:

"Through life I had given my father very little, having little to give; he needed little, and from me expected nothing. Thou who wouldst give, give quickly; in the grave thy loved one can receive no kindness."

A friend said, on reading these lines, he seized his check book; went straight to a country home; took his parents to Cincinnati, and sent them back with comfortable, costly furniture, they protesting.

Dr. Bishop was never disappointing on important occasions; and perhaps he influenced educated people most of all.

John Cabell Breckenridge, in 1823, was the most promising of his father's sons, and a founder and an elder of the Presbyterian church in Lexington, where Prof. Bishop ministered. Graduated at Princeton in 1810, he had married the daughter of President Sam'l Stanhope Smith of that college; and Rev. Dr. Jno. C. Young, later of Center College and of the Seminary at Danville, was to marry his daughter. When quite young, and Secretary of State at Frankfort, Cabell Breckenridge died, and his body was brought to Lexington for burial. Into this crowded church at his funeral was gathered the elite of Kentucky; and through them slowly moved to the pulpit front, all the Breckenridge connection, preceded by the coffin and the widow. She led by the hand her boy, John C., afterwards to become candidate against Douglas and against Lincoln and General in the Confederate Army.

Prof. Bishop preached the funeral sermon. What he said, some one of the family tried to preserve by this blurred pamphlet of three pages. These are the opening paragraphs:

"As for man, his days are as grass, as the flower of the field so he flourisheth; for the wind passeth over it, and it is gone, and the place thereof shall know it no more. But the mercy of the Lord is from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him, and his righteousness unto children's children."

"The grave and eternity are not gloomy things; nor shall we either be forgotten or cease from enjoyment, when our place shall not be known on earth. We are immortal as well as mortal beings, and the very principles in our nature by which we are connected with one another and endeared to one another here, are used to connect us with Eternity, and with the Father of Eternity, and with one another as His children.

Our departed friend was everything which a friend, and a husband, and a father, and a son could be. That such a man was bestowed upon us and continued with us while he was,—this was no common mercy. He was taken from us suddenly, in the prime and vigor of life. Let our loins be girded and our lamps be burning, for at such an hour as we think not our hour may come."

Jefferson Davis two years in Dr. Bishop's class at Transylvania. His tribute to Bishop as an instructor. Did he lack discipline? Story about Dr. Thomas' difficulties in "discipline" at Hanover College.

At Transylvania in Prof. Bishop's class for two years, 1821-3, was a handsome, aristocratic boy, Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, who in time became "President of the Confederate States." In his last year, he began to dictate his autobiography published

with pride by his wife—"Memoir" Vol. 1, page 23. His age and wonderful experience give weight to this testimony as to the quality of his college professor. No man in America valued "discipline" more than he, or could quicker recognize its efficiency or abuse. By such a man as Jefferson Davis, the faults of Bishop and not his merits, might have been remembered. This was not the case. I quote his words.

> The professor of Latin and Greek, and vice-president of the University, was a Scotchman, Rev. Mr. Bishop, afterward president of a college in Ohio, (Kenyon, I believe it was,) a man of large attainments and very varied knowledge. His lectures in history are remembered as well for wide information as for their keen appreciation of the characteristics of mankind. His hero of all the world was William Wallace. In his lectures on the history of the Bible his faith was that of a child, not doubting nor questioning, and believing literally as it was written.
>
> "A vulgar boy, in the junior class, committed some outrage during the recitation, which Dr. Bishop chose to punish as became the character of the offender. His inability to draw a straight line on the blackboard caused him to keep a very large ruler, broad and flat, with which he used to guide the chalk. Calling the boy to him, he laid him across his knee and commenced paddling him with the big ruler. The culprit mumbled that it was against the law to whip a collegiate. 'Yes,' said the old gentleman, momentarily stopping his exercise, 'but every rule has its exceptions, Toney.' Then he whacked him again, and there would not have been a dissenting voice if the question had been put as to the justice of the chastisement."

Bishop's lack of discipline is a fiction, disseminated in the biography of Junkin, with whom it was a frequent text in his first year. It was better than Dr. Junkin's or Dr. McMaster's, without fault of either. College discipline requires respect, and good will, with a firm hand in extreme cases. In short, Dr. Bishop had better discipline than any President of Miami, of his generation.

When Thos. E. Thomas was President of Hanover College, at a night wedding, unendurable disorder of students took place outside, and my father pursuing in the dark, felled one with his cane and took him prisoner. This brought about incipient rebellion, as they claimed it was not "fair."

In the half-hour before supper time, the students as a body would wait at the postoffice, for the Madison stage which brought the daily mail. Here, they were always hilarious and often disorderly. Going through them to his mail-box, then my father was insulted by a stalwart student. Whipping off his coat, he laid it on the ground, saying loudly, "Dr. Thomas, you lie there." Then raising his fists, boxer-like, he backed the offender through the crowd and beyond, amid the plaudits of the student body. It was a fair call on equal terms. That was all. There was a permanent change of sentiment: discipline was restored, with good humor.

My father was forty-one, quick, short or "stocky," and stronger than any man I ever knew of his profession who had done no physical labor. A. A. T., May, 1909.

TO REV. E. D. MACMASTER, D. D.

About the removal of Dr. Bishop and Prof. Scott. T. E. Thomas appeals to Dr. MacMaster to help re-instate them. Thinks prosperity of the college at stake.

Hamilton, O., 14 January, 1845.

Sir:—I am personally unacquainted with you, and perhaps you have never heard of me; but the deep interest I feel in the prosperity of that institution whose Presidency you have recently accepted, induces me to address you.

Sixteen years have elapsed since I entered Miami University as a student; and more than ten since I graduated. For the last ten years, during part of which I have resided at Hamilton, (about twelve miles from Oxford), I have been well acquainted with all the Professors, and have had the pleasure of a particular intimacy with Drs. Bishop and Scott. Belonging to the same Synod and Presbytery, I have frequently at Oxford, had familiar intercourse with them in public, in the pulpit and lecture-room, and at the fireside. I have occasionally attended at the request of the Faculty and Trustees, the annual college examinations. I am personally acquainted with nearly all the members of the Board of Trustees, and have for years been an attentive observer of their proceedings. I am also acquainted with a large majority of the three hundred alumni of the University; and am in constant correspondence with many of them residing in different parts of the country. I make these statements for no other reason than to assure you that in what I am about to say, I do not speak without opportunities of knowing that whereof I affirm.

You are aware that the Trustees of Miami University, at the last meeting, vacated the chairs of Dr. Scott and Prof. Waterman, and abolished the Professorship of Dr. Bishop. Prof. Waterman is a young man, whose connection with the institution is recent and transcient, and he has therefore no such claim on the sympathies of the public. With the venerable Dr. Bishop and with Dr. Scott, it is quite otherwise. Of Dr. Bishop's character as a man, a scholar, a Christian, a teacher of youth, I need say nothing. You are well acquainted with it. I shall only say that the charge so industriously circulated to his prejudice that age has incapacitated him from rendering further service to that institution, is a fiction invented to conceal motives which they are too dishonorable to avow. Dr. Bishop came to Ohio when it was comparatively a wilderness. He labored with

a few students to build up a University, and for twenty years has labored faithfully and efficiently. He gathered around him competent assistants; and he had won for Miami University the enviable title of the Yale of the West. But he was virtually cast out of the Presidency; and now, in a venerable old age, at the close of a life spent in diligent and disinterested public service, he is turned out of the Institution penniless and all but homeless. This community, Sir, and especially the alumni, cannot but feel that the treatment which Dr. Bishop has experienced is dishonorable, mean and injurious to the Institution.

In regard to Dr. Scott, the recent action was scarcely less offensive. He has been a Professor in Miami University some sixteen or seventeen years. He performed the duties of his office unexceptionally in the days of her glory. His pupils fill with acceptance, similar stations in other colleges. He is known in the community as an exemplary Christian, an accomplished scholar, a kind, patient, efficient instructor; and in private, as an amiable, polished gentleman. Some paltry reasons are indeed assigned for his removal; but the reasons are only such as to excite contempt and indignation. Drs. Bishop and Scott, two old and faithful Professors, are thus dismissed. Do you ask why? I can tell you, Sir, in a few words. Their deficiency in thorough-going Old School partizanship and their anti-slavery principles are the real grounds for their romoval. * * * *

My principal reason for laying these facts before you is to say that, in the judgment of all with whom I have communicated, in what I have no doubt is the judgment of a majority of the community, the prosperity of Miami requires that both these gentlemen be re-instated in their Professorships. And as I sincerely desire its prosperity as much as success to yourself in presiding over the institution; as I hope that great good will result therefrom to this valley, and to the whole West; I most respectfully suggest to your consideration, that there are no means by which these objects can be so successfully promoted; nor any way by which you can so certainly secure the respect and regard of the alumni, and the good will of the whole community, as by employing your influence at the approaching meeting of the Board of Trustees for their re-establishment in the University.

Should justice be refused to these gentlemen, the Board may rest assured that their friends will not suffer the affront to pass in silence. The public must know the secret history of the whole affair; and the kind of policy exercised by a particular party in attempting to control a state institution. And those who know the state of public sentiment in this region have little reason to doubt that if Presbyterians engage again in contro-

versies between themselves respecting that institution, their dynasty over it is done for, and the scepter will pass to some other denomination.

I hope the importance of the matter under consideration will constitute a sufficient apology for my communication. I have no personal interests whatever involved. I have written freely and honestly and confidentially.

Hoping to see you hereafter at Oxford, cordially and happily co-operating with Drs. Bishop and Scott, and with the other able members of the faculty at Oxford, I remain,

Most respectfully yours, etc.

Thomas E. Thomas.

From Rev. Dr. E. D. MacMaster

Rebukes T. E. Thomas. Tells him he cannot be moved by threats. Tries to teach him to use conciliatory language.

Madison, Ind., Jany 18, 1845.

Rev. and dear Sir:

Yours of the 14th inst. at hand.

From the time the information came to me of the appointment , unsought by myself, which the Trustees of Miami University have done me the honor to make, the relations of Drs. Bishop and Scott to the University became a subject of deep interest to me. The moment I decided that it was my duty to accept my own appointment, I took the liberty to communicate with Dr. Bishop, and with some of the Trustees, with a view to bring about, if possible, an arrangement by which he should continue to be connected with the institution. * * * *

That I did not do the same thing in the case of Dr. Scott arose from no unfavorable feeling toward him. * * * *

I take the liberty to say, that dispositions on all sides more conciliatory than the language and tone of some parts of your letter, are necessary to harmony among the various interests involved in the university. Considering my relations to the trustees, it would be better that such language concerning them should not be addressed to me. * * * *

In what you say in part there is at least an appearance of menace, of which I presume you are scarcely aware. For I take it, you yourself must regard as utterly unfit for any public trust any man capable of being awed by such means into any course which his own sense of duty would not prompt.

Very respectfully yours,

E. D. MacMaster.

Dr. MacMaster; sketch of his life. President of Hanover College. Fine advice to graduating class, comparing results of study with extempore work. Was a Democrat, not an abolitionist. His great address at Miami, on resigning the presidency in 1849. His valuable work henceforth, in maintaining, reviving, moderating and directing the anti-slavery sentiment in the church. Ablest answer to Dr. Hodge of Princeton on biblical sanction of slavery. What the future historian will not fail to note. Death scene of Dr. MacM. at Chicago. His last message. Dr. Thomas' great address at his funeral, to a "few Presbyterian folk".

NOTE. Rev. Erasmus Darwin MacMaster, D. D., born at Mercer, Pa., in 1806, was one of the six children and the second son of Rev. Dr. Gilbert and Jane (Brown) MacMaster. His grandfather, harassed by the persecutions, left a respectable position in Scotland and at great sacrifice of property, settled in the County of Down, Province of Ulster, in Ireland, whence his son, Gilbert, emigrated to America in early boyhood. An old family record says his ancestors were men "not depending for reputation on the little vanity of having sprung from persons distinguished in their day as butchers and plunderers of their fellows; nor even as the retainers of such, upon whom the chief of the banditti may have bestowed the title of *noble;* nor did our forebears cherish pride of personal achievement because of rising from the dregs of poverty and meanness. Thus we can pride ourselves not upon connection with a doubtful feudal nobility, nor upon extreme poverty, but simply upon an ancient, respectable independence and trust in God for daily bread."

Dr. Gilbert MacMaster was first a physician, but afterwards became a minister in the Reformed Presbyterian Church. His son, Erasmus D. was graduated at Union College in 1827; studied divinity under his father, and for the following seven years had his first and only pastoral charge at Ballston, N. Y. These early days seem to have been passed in studious retirement and a full measure of scholarly preparation; and it was one of the passions of his life to urge the same upon others; but from this leisure, he was aroused by the urgent educational needs of the church in the West. In 1838, he became President of Hanover College, in Indiana. This institution, in its founder and many of its early supporters, had known men of noble type; but the educational ideals of southern Indiana, in 1838, were not high; and there can be no doubt that the patrons of this college and the new President found much on first acquaintance which was a mutual surprise. Dr. MacMaster was a plain talker; both parties were good fighters; and controversies ensued, in which, as Dr. Thomas said, "the wounds inflicted were mutual." Dr.

MacMaster, in mistaken zeal, attempted to remove the college to Madison, but failed.

In an address to the graduating class, in 1839, President Mac Master said:

"But gentlemen, study,—study,—*study*, thoroughly, deeply, intensely the departments of human learning that bear especially upon your own particular aims and pursuits. Avoid ignorance on these subjects. Avoid crudeness in your knowledge of that which it is your particular business to know well. Avoid crudeness in your performances. In order to do this, study. Its extempore character is not among the glories of the Nineteenth Century. Extempore speaking, and extempore writing, and extempore acting are enervating the strength of every profession, evaporating the mind of our country, cursing the land, and starving the church of God! Let your studies be well directed. Let them aim at practical results. But fear not, gentlemen, the taint of lamp-oil upon your work."

In 1845, Dr. MacMaster was elected President of Miami University, to succeed Rev. Dr. Geo. Junkin, and removed to Oxford, Ohio. Rev. Dr. J. M. Stevenson, so long Secretary of the American Tract Society, has written, "Dr. Thomas was almost *the first,* both in time and ability, in our church, in the West, who thoroughly studied and manfully defended the right of the slave to freedom." Who, of such, were first in time, the notes in this volume fully and more accurately disclose. Dr. E. D. MacMaster was the first in ability, and first in the effort, and, finally, in the sacrifice he made, in the anti-slavery contest in the Presbyterian Church.*

Beyond all others, his influence, efforts and ability were clear and commanding in maintaining a powerful anti-slavery movement, not of the church, but in the Presbyterian church; and when that movement was, perhaps, most difficult to maintain, which was after the remarkable, late growth of the slave power, and just before the great uprising. But he never was, in any technical sense, an abolitionist: he had refused to join any abolition society; nor would he have ever subscribed to the resolutions which Dr. Thomas so early and so often wrote to express the due and proper attitude of the church. If, as I think has been fairly said elsewhere, anti-slavery men are entitled to rank in honor according to their priorities of date, no high rank would be assigned to Dr. MacMaster; but when he came, he was a host. The pre-eminence claimed for him, however, must be confined to the years from 1855 to 1860: yet this was a time

* Except Rev. Dr. Robert J. Breckenridge? Dr. B. never did anything in the anti-slavery controversy which cost him much, barring political preferment, and that he did not want. But it is hard to say that in whatever he was concerned with, anybody else stood first in influence or ability. "Why did Grant go ahead of the other Union Generals"? asked my son the other day. I replied, "Because of his ability". "What", was the next and unanswerable question of the little boy, "What do you mean by ability"?

when a "Kentucky mist" had settled down upon the Emancipationists of that State, until no one across the river could tell the difference between Robert J. Breckinridge and Stuart Robison.

There had been no change in the politics of a majority of the trustees of Miami University, who had deposed Dr. Bishop, and who chose Dr. MacMaster in part because of his moderation of views on the subject of slavery. In fact, Dr. MacMaster was a Democrat. "I am," he said, " a democrat as I understand democracy:" and he denounced "the evil of an excessively augmenting public revenue, collected, contrary to the principles and genius of a democratic government, by indirect taxation; and consequent corruption." Dr. MacMaster never married. His father, now aged and retired from active ministry, and also his sisters, constituted his family here, and while they survived, remained under his roof as long as he was able to maintain a household. Many able and prominent men,—among others, Grimke of South Carolina, Wm. M. Cory, Samuel Galloway, Dr. John C. Young, Dr. John W. Scott, Chauncey N. Olds, Rt. Rev. J. B. Purcell and Gov. Chas. Anderson,—have delivered addresses at Oxford; but reading them now, it is plain that none of them have ever equalled in merit Dr. MacMaster's public addresses there. Most notable of these was that on the occasion of his resigning the Presidency, delivered Commencement Day, 1849. In no page of our literature can words be found to equal these on the subject of the necessity and value of a proper training for professional men.

"The true object of college studies is to give to young men, beside the formation of high and noble and gentlemanly character, the intellectual development, training, and discipline qualifying them for the studies and the subsequent exercise of the liberal professions and for the conduct of public affairs in the different departments of life. To qualify men for this all their intellectual faculties must be quickened, sharpened, invigorated. They must acquire the power and the habit of searching and thorough investigation; of accurate observation; of keen-sighted discrimination; of precise, exact and truthful conception and definition; of high, sound and just generalization; and of close and rigorous ratiocination on every subject of their inquiry; and of a sober, chastened, and well-balanced judgment, and broad, large, and comprehensive views upon all the great interests of man that come before them and on which they are called to act. To accomplish this object appropriate means must be used; the exercise of these intellectual faculties in a course of long and severe studies and upon commanding objects of intellectual interest; and this must be carried on without the continual obtrusion upon us at every step of that miserable, mean-spirited, inquiry, what's its use?—its use in reference to a utilitarianism of the narrowest views and the most contracted spirit.

Well then,—if you wish that the young men who are to be your physicians, crude, and coarse, and low-minded, shall compound pills without knowledge and hawk them out without judgment and without conscience, to cure or to kill as chance may determine; college studies are of *no* use *to them*. But if you desire that the men whom you admit to the

most confidential intimacies of your households, and into whose hands you put the life of yourselves and your families in the day of sickness and danger, shall be gentlemen of refinement, of delicacy, of honour; and, bringing to the investigation of medical science and its application with discernment and judgment to the healing art, a well-disciplined mind trained to habits of observation, of reflection, or discrimination, of scientific inferring, shall become what so many of that enlightened and humane profession have always been, the alleviators of human suffering, the restorers of health, the conservators of life, the ministering angels of your households, so often driving the destroyer Death from your doors;—if this be what you desire them to be, I need not tell you of what use to them is all liberal learning and the highest intellectual as well as moral culture. If you mean that your son shall be only a little scribbling attorney and quibbling, shirking pettifogger, the liberal studies of the college are of no use to *him*.

But if you mean that he shall be a *lawyer*, with an eye to discern amid statutes and cases a *principle*, with the head to comprehend *the relation* between principle and principle, and with the soul to feel the moral dignity and grandeur of that great body of civil and criminal jurisprudence which the wisdom of ages has reared up as a bulwark for the protection of the *right* and the punishment of the *wrong;* the defender of the innocent; the worthy and able expositor and pleader of what is one noble department of that more general *Law*, "whose seat is the bosom of God; its voice the harmony of the universe; to which all things in heaven and earth do homage; the least as feeling its care, the greatest as not exempt from its power",—if this be what you mean your son shall be, I need not tell you of what use to him is all good learning, and the severest discipline, sharpening his wits, and giving clearness, and grasp, and power to his intellect.

If you intend your son shall be the hanger-on and hack of this or that unscrupulous and profligate political party, to take his cue from his file leader, to advance when the party advances, to recede when it recedes; to face about when it faces about;—all freedom of thought prohibited, all fearless and honest inquiry after and advocacy of the truth suppressed, all manly spirit of independence in his bosom crushed, all generous sentiments of justice and magnanimity in his heart extinguished, all sense of personal responsibility lost; to shout when he is directed to shout and hiss when he is directed to hiss, to applaud and to calumniate whom and what and when he is bidden; and to take his pay in the share of "the spoils" he may be able to grab in the scramble of the division;—the veriest slave of unprincipled and heartless faction;—if this be what you intend your son shall be, why certainly a college is not the school to which you should send him. But if you desire that your son should aspire to be what is still higher than *the lawyer;*—"for the wisdom of *the lawyer* is one thing, and that of the law-maker another;"—if you should have him aspire to be, and God have given him, what he gives to few, the head and the heart to be what is higher than the lawyer—to be *a Statesman*,—from a deep and thorough insight into the whole physical, intellectual, moral, and social constitution of man and of all the circumstances that go to modify the condition of man among different peoples and in different times, to evolve the great principles of legislation and government, and verifying these by lessons of wisdom drawn from the depths of a profound philosophy, and illustrating and confirming them by the light collected from the history of all nations and ages, with the penetrating sight, the far-reaching grasp of thought, the comprehending views, the generalizing and combining power, and the fertile invention of the Αρχιτεχουιχγ φρόυγσις, the master-mind—to seize great political and economical truths which lie unobserved by other men, and to strike out new lines of policy by which the people are made prosperous and states are made great;—if this be

what you would have your son aspire to be, then I suppose it is obvious enough of what use to him are the highest culture of intellect and the most earnest pursuit of all liberal knowledge and learning.

If you expect those who are to be your future ministers of religion to dole out for the thousandth time in the stereotype phrases of dull insipidity, the common-place talk which they have absorbed from those around them, inmixed and diversified ever and anon with their own erroneous crudities; or to supply with noisy vociferation and wordy volubility, or with low and profane antics and clap-trap devices, the want of thought, and sense, and piety;—why then indeed I do not myself see that *they* have any need at all of Greek, or Logic, or Metaphysics; or learning of any kind. But if you would have the men who are to be for you and for the world "stewards of the mysteries of God", and the preachers of that gospel which is to them who hear, in some the savour of death unto death, and in some of life unto life;—if you would have them, feeling the dignity of Heaven's high commission, God's embassy of reconciliation to rebellious men, and how dread a thing it is to stand between the Majesty in the heavens and perishing sinners, and treat with them of things involving such issues as those of the great salvation;—if you would have them, feeling this, to bring to the interpretation of the Sacred Oracles, beside the requisite spiritual qualification, the mental capacity and the intellectual furniture of independent interpreters, that having the mind of the Spirit therein, as Scribes thoroughly instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, they may expound and apply the Scriptures, that by the faith of these men may have God's gift of eternal life in His Son;—Oh! friends, if *this* is what you would have your future ministers of religion to be, then you will never again think of asking of what use *to them* is the disciplinary training that can by any and all means enlarge the capacity and increase the power of their intellect, or of the widest range of knowledge and learning that can be brought to bear upon *this* 'relief of man's estate'."

Dr. MacMaster left the presidency of Miami University hoping that he might keep alive the New Albany Theological Seminary. His advent there was the signal for an assualt upon him and that institution from almost all the pro-slavery organs and ministers of the church.* Dr. Thomas soon went to his friend's assistance,—but it is needless to comment on or tell the story now, which these letters have narrated.

From this time forth, and without any wish or intent on his part that it should be so, the main work of Dr. MacMaster's

* The Southern Presbyterian, published at Columbia, South Carolina, by the professors of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary located there, said editorially, on the appointment of Dr. Thomas to the chair in the New Albany Seminary:

"Dr. Thomas, of whom we know little except that he is held in much esteem for his abilities in his own part of the country, has accepted a chair in the seminary at New Albany, and by so doing will, no doubt, give a new impetus to this institution, whose existence has been seriously threatened by the establishment of the Danville Seminary. Dr. Thomas some years since was a conspicuous leader of the abolition party in Ohio. Whether he has changed his views on that subject or not, we are not informed; but if he has not, the fears which have been entertained, may prove not altogether groundless, namely, that the New Albany Seminary may become an engine for the propagation of abolitionism in the North West. Dr. MacMaster, another professor, is not free from the suspicion of a similar taint."

life was in maintaining, reviving, moderating, and directing the anti-slavery sentiment of the church. With what wisdom, eloquence, and resolution he did this, can in part be shown by quotation from his published speeches and letters. In an address on "The True Life of A Nation," delivered at Miami University, in 1856, he said:

"On slavery where it already exists, I have seldom publicly spoken or written, because not living among a slaveholding people, I have thought it less my vocation to discuss this subject than evils existing among ourselves; and because I have been convinced that, if the question of slavery is to have an issue, peaceful and beneficial to all the parties concerned, men living in the midst of it alone are competent to deal effectually with it; and I have always cherished, and am still disposed to cherish, the hope, that there will be found in the States where slavery exists true-hearted ministers of the Divine Word, and true statesmen, who, in their respective spheres, would be faithful in the great work which God has laid upon them; in preparing the way and guiding the people in measures for the abolition of the whole system. Whenever I have spoken upon this subject, it has been with a clear and full recognition of the manifold and great difficulties which embarass the question of slavery and the slave population, as one to be practically dealt with; with disapproval of the injustice of indiscriminate denunciation of all the guilty and the innocent alike, who are in any way connected with the system; and with an acknowledgement of the great consideration which I think is justly due to honest-hearted men, implicated unwillingly in the evils of the system, who are doing the best they can under their circumstances, and are seeking, in patience and prudence, by means wise, safe, and feasible, to bring it as soon as possible to an end."

"All this I have always said: all this I now repeat. But having said these things, I say further, that when the question is about a demand on the *whole nation*, the Free States as well as the slaveholding, through the national government, to *nationalize* a system which exists only by local law, or custom having the force of law, and to perpetuate it, and extend it into new territories, then, fellow-citizens, the question belongs to you, to me, and to us all, and to each of us; the merits of the system are open to discussion; and upon it, as upon all other great political and moral evils which afflict our country, and its remedy, I must speak as I have always done, plain and fearless words, according to the truth of the case as I apprehend it. Christianity I believe to be the true remedy for all moral evils, and for all political evils which arise from moral causes. I believe that it is the only effectual remedy for this evil of slavery. Let us enquire how Christianity deals with slavery."

"The Epistle of Philemon is, I believe, with the "Christian" defenders of slavery, the classical epistle; though, for the life of me, I never could see why. Well, what does the Epistle to Philemon say? Onesimus, a fugitive slave, came to Rome, where he met Paul, and was by his ministry converted to Christianity. Paul sent him back to his master Philemon, also a Christian, with a letter. And what does the letter say? 'To the Honorable Mr. Philemon, greeting; Sir: I, Paul, the Apostle of Jesus Christ, being here at Rome, on the business of my apostleship, have caught Onesimus, your *tool* with a soul in it running away; and having captured it, and handcuffed it, I had it up before the Prætect, and have got out a warrant; and now I send back to you your tool with a soul in it, in chains, that you may recover your property; for we have a law, and by our law you have an undoubted right to your tool with a soul in it. And the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit, brother Philemon; Amen!" Was this the Epistle? No; not exactly. Happily the document is extant,

and in your own hands, and in your own tongue wherein you were born, that you may read and understand. How read you?—'Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ, to Philemon:—*I might be much bold in Jesus Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient;* yet for love's sake I rather beseech thee for *my son* Onesimus; whom I have sent again. Thou, therefore receive him, that is *mine own bowels.* Receive him not now as a servant (a *doulos*, a tool, or a *servant* even); but above a servant, a BROTHER:—*Receive him* AS MYSELF.' That is the letter. I think that if the Commissioners' papers under our fugitive slave law were made out in the terms of this *mittimus* of Paul, there would be no mobs about the matter, around Faneuil Hall, the old cradle of liberty."

In a sermon published at New Albany in 1856, Dr. MacMaster said:

"On this topic of slavery, the subject of a controversy often so wretchedly managed on both sides, I feel it my duty to speak with precision, and even with circumspection. The slavery spoken of in this sermon is not any system of mere servitude, which recognizes the servant as a moral person, though in an inferior relation, and *protects his rights as such;* which servitude may be right or wrong, according to the circumstances of the case. But the slavery spoken of is that system which declares human beings to be, *not moral persons,* but 'goods and chattels', incapable of sustaining personal relations or possessing personal rights, with all that legitimately flows from this fundamental principle of the slavery with which we have to do. The distinction is vital to the whole question of the moral character of slavery. It is a distinction which a child, who chooses, can perceive. Slavery as the term is here used, and as it is defined by the laws creating the institution, no honest man will defend or say to be right. Why then should there be any controversy about it? As to the means of removal, among reflecting men there is a like agreement. All believe that this is mainly the moral power of the gospel, aided by political and economical considerations. But, trusting in the spirit of Christianity in the heart of the master as the only power that can be relied on to induce him to give to his bondman that which is just and equal, and to the same spirit to influence the servant to fulfill his duties, whether as bond or free, it is the business of the church, and especially it is the business of the ministers of God's word, in fit time and place, with discriminate and right temper, to expound the Divine law in its application to the whole subject, and to point out the moral character of the existing institution of slavery as judged by that law." *

In another note on the General Assembly at Indianapolis, in 1859, something further has been stated and all that space allows

* Students of the anti-slavery controversy in the Presbyterian Church will note that Dr. MacMaster is here at work on the marrow of Prof. Chas. Hodge's adroit defense of slavery, which rougher and smaller ministers of the church in the West only reiterated and worked out in its further and legitimate conclusions. And the historian of this great Controversy, who will yet come, will, when he comes, not fail to note that those in the church, at least in the North, who were friends and defenders of human slavery, did not claim that it was right, but denounced any assertion that it was wrong; whether the system was right or wrong, they claimed was no business of the church. When, later on, "The General Assembly of the Confederate States" got off by themselves in an unapproachable independence, they "testified" on this old issue, in terms that would have satisfied Drs. Wilson, Junkin and Rice. They said: "We would have it distinctly understood that in our ecclesiastical capacity, we are neither the friends nor the foes of slavery. We have no right, as a church, to enjoin it as a duty, *or to condemn it as a sin*".)

about the personnel of Dr. MacMaster, and his speech at Indianapolis, the only time he ever appeared in any General Assembly of the church. By probably all not in privity or sympathy with the causes or persons who brought it about, his practical banishment for nearly ten years was regarded as great waste of high faculties always needed and rarely found. There is something pitiable in the sight of such a man as he "raising corn upon a farm, in order that he might have bread to eat." Perhaps there is comfort in the thought that in that day, many things radically wrong in this country, were rapidly and radically righting themselves. At any rate, all his friends rejoiced when the General Assembly of the Church restored him to his professorship in the Seminary at Chicago, in 1866; and nothing in my father's life gave him a higher pleasure than to be officially appointed to communicate to him this intelligence.

At the Seminary at Chicago, Dr. MacMaster's service was to last but a few months. All his colleagues and the students there bore witness to the gentleness and winning loveliness of his manner and intercourse with all about him, and to the skill, the fullness and ripened scholarship which he brought into his classroom instruction. The unaccustomed severity of this winter climate brought on a severe pneumonia, which ended his days on December 10, 1866. About his death bed, professors and students gathered in sympathy and awe. To their questions, he replied: "I have never expected to die in ecstacies, or to experience such transports as some Christians have done. It would not accord with the character of my mind or the nature of my religion." But life ebbed slowly away: here was a Puritan at his life's end, who was closing a record of almost Apostolic devotion; and amid the wanderings of his mind, and the dribble of the report of what others said to him and he said to them, we get glimpses of the soul of old Dr. MacMaster: "The interests of this Seminary, and the interests of truth and righteousness in connection with it, require that it shall be in the hands of those who would not oppress and destroy the image of God in man." * * * * * * * "It is a pleasant thought that I am going to be with that blessed mother and my beloved father and my dear sisters, and where, besides these, will be all the Saints."

* * * * *

"Satan comes to me and tempts me. He says I have not loved the Lord Jesus Christ, nor served him with all my heart. I have told my Savior that a thousand times. Get thee behind me, Satan! Thou canst not take my Crown from me."

* * * * *

In response to prompt and due invitation, Dr. Thomas preached no sermon at the funeral in McCormick Theological Seminary; nor, later on, delivered any eulogy or address before the Presbyterian Historical Society of Philadelphia; but he met

the body en route from Chicago to Xenia, in charge of Dr. MacMaster's brother, expecting, with him, to go alone to see to its burial. But following the remains, or gathered there, with like intent, was a goodly number of staunch Presbyterian folk; and, on their insistence, an extemporary funeral was held where Dr. Thomas delivered what I have always thought was the greatest of all his sermons.*

Fine as were his scholarship, and faculty for instruction, and, at times, his epistolary or other writing, his most notable gift was not these, but chaste, fervid, effective oratorical speech. Surely, never was so great a funeral oration delivered to so small an audience, as was heard that day, which was wholly unexpected, and wholly unreported.

Dr. MacMaster's bones are laid beside those of his family and kindred in the cemetery at Xenia, Ohio.—A. A. T.

FROM PROFESSOR J. W. SCOTT.

Dr. Junkin and abolitionism in Miami University.

Oxford, Feb. 19th, 1844.

The bearer will inform you more particularly of the immediate object of this letter. I can but merely drop a line to add my confirmation to his report, and my request to that of a number of the good friends here of which he is the bearer.

We have recently had the old veteran in the abolition cause, Arnold Buffum, here delivering us three lectures bearing on the subject, which have brought out that champion, "the President of M-i-ami University, George Junkin, D. D."!! to deliver us a tirade on the subject of "rampant, fanatical, modern abolitionism", to set our community right on the question. This evening we had the introductory, announced to be on the African Slave-trade, but which was headed with quite a fiery exordium, to give us a taste, I suppose, of what the conclusion is to be, against all abolitionism and abolitionists, and especially against that unprincipled old agitator and "prevaricator", bought up and hired for the purpose, as the Dr. is to show before he is done, by "British Gold", whose name is at the head of this paragraph. Tomorrow evening he is to get into the marrow of the matter, by showing "the absurdity, the futility, the utter folly

* Except one; delivered also unexpectedly, when, returning from Oxford with me, he was stopped and pressed by his old parishioners into a called evening meeting, in the basement of the Hamilton Church. The associations of his Oxford visit, and of this place, seemed to inspire him; and, with every faculty under perfect command, but all aflame, for an hour he swept along in glorious oratory; yet I can recall but one portion of this address, and that was a magnificent description of a Roman Triumph. A. A. T.

and madness of the modern fanatical abolitionism, as a cure for slavery."

Now these presents are to the intent that you, Thomas Ebenezer Thomas, mad, modern abolitionist, of the Borough of Rossville, County of Butler, and State of Ohio, in view of the premises, be and appear at the house of me, J. W. Scott, of the Borough of Oxford, and County and State aforesaid, on the evening of tomorrow, being Tuesday the 20th day of Feb'y, in the year of our Lord 1844, to take a cup of tea,—or coffee as the case may be,—and thence to proceed to the First Presbyterian Church, with pen, ink and paper, then and there, and therewith (a little more than the ordinary legal phrase) to take notes of said awful bull of excommunication, and handing over to Satan of said abolitionists and abolitionism; and farther, that you come provided with all the necessary material in the form of anti-slavery documents, which may be necessary to form a shelter to shield yourself, and friends, and cause from the dreadfulness, and demolishing character of the blow. And of this fail not, under the pains and penalties due, and in such cases provided. Given under our hand, in our bed-room, this midway between Feb. 19th and Feb. 20th, 1844.

J. W. Scott.

FROM REV. SAMUEL CROTHERS, D. D.

Against organizing an anti-slavery Presbytery.

Greenfield, O., Aug. 2, 1844.

I received a few days since a letter from Arthur B. Bradford, Darlington, Beaver Co. Pa., stating that he and Wells Bushnell had been deputed by the Anti-Slavery brethren of Beaver Presbytery, ministerial and lay, to correspond with those of the same stamp in this region, on our present prospects and duties. Probably they have written to you: if not, I will state briefly, that John Knox has seceded on account of slavery. Five of the ministers are ready to do so. "Numbers of the very best members of the congregations will go"; some have gone. They had understood that we were in the same state of mind, and intimated that they were disposed to act with us. I replied, in substance, that not more than two of our members, (the youngest), were in favor of a new organization; that our not sending a commissioner to the Assembly was intended to rouse the Assembly to do something either with slaveholders or abolitionists; that from some past experience, we were disposed to think that a new organization was not advisable: it would cut us off from direct influence on the Presbyterian church; it would drive the plow-share through our churches and Presbyteries; that no minister would join us except those whose congregations

are abolitionized; it would invite surrounding denominations to make inroads upon us: we would soon have shoals of applicants from suspected quarters desirous of acquiring a reputation for orthodoxy by union with Beaver, Chillicothe, etc.; and that we would soon find ourselves in a denomination with whom we could agree on no subject except the sinfulness of slavery; and finally, we would soon quarrel about what constitutes a good abolitionist.

Yours in the best of bonds,
S. Crothers.

P. S. I am informed that at a large meeting at Hillsborough yesterday, a petition was circulated by the Alumni of Miami University for the removal of "Dr. Junkin, D. D., President, etc. etc." The Alumni, without exception, signed, although many of them are anti-abolitionists. This, in connection with the universal unwillingness in this region to send a a student to Oxford while he is there, shows how the tone of public opinion is changing.

CALL FOR PRESBYTERIAN ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, AT HAMILTON, OHIO.

Rossville, August 16, 1844.

Dr. Bailey: Please publish the following *call* for a convention of anti-slavery Presbyterians; continuing it, for a few weeks, in your paper, and oblige, Yours, etc.,
Thomas E. Thomas.

PRESBYTERIAN ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

An anti-slavery convention of ministers and elders connected with the Presbyterian Church, (O. S.), will be held in Hamilton, Butler County, Ohio, on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 17th and 18th days of September; commencing at 11 o'clock on Tuesday. The object of the convention is to deliberate upon the course proper to be pursued in relation to the subject of slavery, as connected with the Presbyterian Church. All our brethren in the ministry and eldership who are opposed to slavery, and who think some ecclesiastical action against it necessary, are earnestly invited to attend.

Signed: R. H. Bishop, J. W. Scott, Benj. Swan, Wm. S. Rogers, Th. E. Thomas, M. C. Williams, S. Crothers, H. S. Fullerton.

Business committees of the Hamilton Anti-Slavery Convention of Ministers and Elders:

1. To prepare a memorial to Synod of Cincinnati, Th. E. Thomas, S. Crothers.

2. Addresses to the churches on the subject of the views of the convention. Th. E. Thomas, J. M. Stone, S. Crothers.

3. To prepare an anti-slavery tract, relating to the connection of our church with slavery, etc. Th. E. Thomas, J. M. Stone.

4. To promote circulation of Anti-Slavery documents. Jno. W. Scott, Jno. S. Galloway, S. Crothers, Col. Wm. Keys, Jno. A. Meeks.

5. To secure the establishment of an Anti-Slavery paper. Th. E. Thomas, Jno. W. Scott, S. Crothers.

6. Committee on the circulation of memorials. R. H. Bishop, Wm. Gage, J. M. Stone, H. S. Fullerton, Jno. S. Galloway, Adrian Aten, H. R. Price.

Memorial of Anti-Slavery Ministers and Elders in the Synod of Cincinnati to said Synod, September 15, 1844.

To the Moderator of the Synod of Cincinnati, to meet on the third Thursday of September, 1844:

The memorial of the undersigned ministers and elders of the Presbyterian Church, within the bounds of the Synod of Cincinnati, respectfully showeth;

That the General Assembly of our church is annually composed, in part, of ministers and elders who hold their fellow men as property, under a system of oppression, which deprives them of their personal rights, which interferes with all the divinely constituted relations, and which substitutes the popish abomination, *Oral Instruction*, for the means of salvation, which God has appointed and promised to bless. The undersigned therefore respectfully pray that a memorial be forwarded to the next General Assembly, earnestly beseeching them to enjoin upon the Presbyteries to consider, in the appointment of Commissioners to the General Assembly, and in the exercise of discipline, that it is the declared faith of the Presbyterian Church, that the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human family by another is a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature, utterly inconsistent with the law of God, and totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Ministers, R. H. Bishop, Wm. Dickey, S. Crothers, J. W. Scott, Hugh S. Fullerton, J. M. Stone, A. Aten, Thomas E. Thomas, C. A. Hoyt, J. A. I. Lowes, W. S. Rogers.

Elders, Isaac Collett, John Shepherd, Benjamin C. Swan, S. R. Mollyneaux, H. I. Curtis, Geo. A. Murray, Thomas Burnes, Thomas F. Purdy, Thomas Mitchell.

TO THOMAS E. THÓMAS, NEW ALBANY THEO. SEM.

With messenger bringing word of Dr. Bishop's death; and asking him to preach his funeral sermon.

College Hill, O., April 29, 1855.

Our dearly beloved and revered Dr. Bishop died this morning about five o'clock. He preached for us last Sabbath and was able to complete his discourse without faltering; and continued his duties in college with his classes with his usual energy until Friday. He expected to resume his recitations Monday; but this morning, although speechless, yet all serene, at peace with God and with all mankind, he passed away, as if he had laid down to sleep.

On behalf of the Board of Directors and of his relations and friends, we have dispatched the bearer, a student of the college, as a messenger to bear the sad tidings to you to secure your presence, and to preach his funeral sermon, with Dr. Scott, who will officiate with you.

May 18th.

I received your letter which told of your absence from home. I regretted the providence which prevented you from coming. Since then, Mrs. Bishop has been called away; just two weeks from the time he died, at the same hour on Sabbath morning; making her to a day the same age. Her remains were enclosed in a strong metallic-lined box, in the same manner the Doctor's had been; the mound was opened, and she was placed by his side.

Perhaps you were not aware that among the items of Dr. Bishop's will, was one as follows:

"I give my soul to the Redeemer, as I have often endeavored to do, to be received on the same condition that the thief on the cross was received. I give my body to the Directors of Farmer's College, to be enclosed in a strong box, and to be placed in a mound of earth, to be formed of successive layers of sand and earth; the mound to contain a cubic quantity of earth at least eight feet each way."

We were fulfilling his request in the spot designated, making a mound about twenty-five feet in diameter. There is to be no monument of an artificial character placed to designate the spot, permitting merely the planting of an evergreen upon it.

Thus has gone one whose labors will not cease to have an influence for good, through time: and so these good old servants of the Cross, after their labors on earth, so ample and complete, are peacefully and quietly to rest together.

TO PROFESSOR ROBERT H. BISHOP, OXFORD, OHIO.

Dr. Thomas's beautiful letter to R. H. B. Jr. on the death of his father.

New Albany, Ind., May 2, 1855.

My dear Robert: I deeply regret that I was prevented from attending the funeral services of your dear and honored father; honored of thousands, but doubly dear to me; for after my father and mother, he did more for me than any other has done. In accordance with a previous engagement, I had gone to Indianapolis on Saturday, my wife accompanying me. We intended to return on Monday; but an unexpected alteration of the train table detained us; we reached home on the afternoon of Tuesday, and then received the message from College Hill. Of course the interment had taken place before that time, and I was 150 miles distant. I need not express my sorrow at the disappointment, nor say how much gratification it would have afforded me (a mournful pleasure indeed) to be able to add my humble tribute to the memory of one so loved, so honored, so worthy of affection and reverence. But Providence has otherwise ordered; and he, our sainted father, needed no tribute from me, or from any mortal. His record is on high; his memorial, on earth too, abideth forever. A long life faithfully spent in an illustrious service of his Divine Master has left a thousand testimonials of his fidelity, ability and success. I would express my deep and tender sympathy with you and your family, especially with your honored and now desolate mother; but I know from recent experience, how vain are words to express emotions, and how utterly useless are phrases of condolence in allaying grief of heart. There is but one Physician who can heal heart wounds. He is as near to you and yours as to me; and I doubt not you enjoy His refreshing cordials. You know that God has been pleased to call home our youngest child, a bright and beautiful, and most promising boy of almost three years. Many a

cherished hope of ours has thus been crushed forever! But we know Who gave, and Who has taken away; we know that our bud of earthly promise blooms now in the Paradise of God. Ebbie has learned already, in the infant school of that better country, more than his father will ever learn on earth. And if I cannot lament the departure of one who had just crossed the threshold of time, shall I mourn, shall you mourn, the peaceful exit of him whose fourscore years had finished his earthly work, and matured him for the loftier service of the upper sanctuary? I remember his parting words to our class, (1834)—"When next we meet, we shall be roaming and praising in the better country." Venerable father! may we be so happy as to realize the hope, and meet thee, all meet thee, in thine home in heaven.

I shall be happy to hear from you the particulars of your father's last days, so soon as it may be convenient and agreeable. I hope, before long, to be able to pay you a visit. Till then, accept the assurance of unabated and unalterable affection from

Your old friend,
Thomas E. Thomas.

III

FROM REV. HUGH S. FULLERTON.

The Deliverance of the Assembly of 1845 on Slaveholding. "Why —I can't stand it."

South Salem, O., July 22, 1845.

The report of our Assembly is unutterably abominable. The more I examine it, the more offensive it seems to me. In accordance with a resolution of our session, I commenced a review of it with the design of forwarding it to your Magazine for publication. The review is written and has been adopted by session; but it is too long for you, unless broken up into several numbers; and it has been delayed so long by my sickness that we have concluded to print it at Greenfield. As soon as it is done, I will send you a copy. It is the request of the session that you would publish it; but this matter, of course, we wish to be left to your discretion. Perhaps you will think best to insert parts of it. But my impression is that, since you have taken up the matter, you had better write on in your own way.

Woodrow don't like the report of the Assembly. It is an apology for slaveholding. It must indeed be a nauseous dose when his pro-slavery stomach can't bear it. Rev. S. Brown of Zanesville, preached a sermon a few Sabbaths ago, in defense of the report. A friend, whose statements are fully to be relied on, heard him. He said over and over that if the relation was from hell, the church had no right to interfere with it, for it was allowed in the church of its King and Head. He made a new application of one of the Assembly's principles, viz: we are bound by a covenant engagement not to turn out slaveholders. It was this. Even the state governments have no right to abolish slavery. It is a domestic institution. The governments were formed on the conceded principle that they had no right to interfere with domestic arrangements. To abolish slavery would be to violate their compacts with every slaveholder! If the principle is correct, his reasoning is good. What sinners those states are which have abolished slavery.

I feel as you do on the subject of secession. I have always opposed it strongly. But if the church, either by her action, or inaction, sanctions the Assembly's doctrines, why—why—*why I can't stand it.* But let us not be in too great haste. Let us do

all we can to correct the sentiment and action of the church. A faithful and patient advocacy of our principles will at least give us friends, and extend our ranks if we have to go. I love our church. It is like death to part with her. But if she has taken her final stand on this subject, I can say "the bitterness of death is past."

Have you read Father Rice's essay called "Slavery Inconsistent with Justice and Good Policy?" If not, you will find it in Rice's memoirs, by Dr. Bishop. I do wish we could republish it. His name is a host. And it would show that the abolitionism of 1792 was much like that of 1845.

Rev. Dr. Hugh S. Fullerton; his life; education; service; children. Founded Salem Academy, one of the best in the State. Long at Salem, O. What he built up there. His life-long friendship for Dr. Thomas. His anti-slavery activity. Dies when his five sons were in uniform.

NOTE. Rev. Hugh S. Fullerton, D. D., of Scotch-Irish descent, and the second of eleven children of Thomas and Elizabeth (Stewart) Fullerton, was born near Greencastle, Pa., in 1805. In 1815 the family removed to Fayette County, Ohio; where Hugh S. grew up in the severe labor of farm life. Having joined the Presbyterian Church at Bloomington, then under the pastoral care of Rev. Wm. Dickey, he was taken under the care of the Chillicothe Presbytery in preparing for the ministry; attended a year at Ohio University; and then began his theological studies under Dr. Samuel Crothers at Greenfield, Ohio. His first pastorate was Union Church, four miles from Chillicothe; and while there he was married to Dorothy B., daughter of Rev. Wm. Boies. In 1832, he removed to Chillicothe; and, at the age of twenty-seven, "threw himself with ardor into the anti-slavery movement, then just beginning throughout the country." This region was largely settled by families from Virginia and Kentucky, and among them were large numbers of emancipated slaves. They had no schools and scarcely any religious teaching. Mr. Fullerton obtained for them as teacher, a young lady from Northern Ohio, of cultivated mind and high social position. When her mission was known, it was impossible to get her a place to board. Mr. Fullerton then took her into his own household. The ladies of his church and neighborhood took offense, and sent a committee to "remonstrate against his harboring a nigger school-teacher!"

In 1838, Rev. Mr. F. accepted a call to the Salem Church, Ross County, Ohio, lately vacated by Rev. Jas. Dickey, after a pastorate of nearly thirty years; and here, and until his death, he spent twenty-six years of a laborious life. About 500 persons were added to this church during his ministry. A large and

commodious place of worship was erected. Mr. Fullerton founded the Salem Academy, one of the best institutions of its kind in the State. "It was a vine of his own planting, and to him it was a great delight when he saw fruit ripening upon it, or when the odor of its bloom filled the neighborhood with fragrance." More than forty young men, studying for the ministry, were under his care as their pastor and teacher.

Dr. Fullerton was the father of six children. Artemas T. supplies his father's vacant pulpit; George H., educated at Salem Academy, Miami University and Princeton Seminary, was Chaplain of the 1st Ohio Infantry, which went from Dayton; has been pastor at Lancaster, Lane Seminary, Springfield, Ill., and is now at Springfield, O.; another son, Thomas, was Chaplain of the 17th Ohio Infantry, has been pastor at Walnut Hills, O., Professor of Rhetoric in Wooster University; pastor at Erie, Pa., and is now at Georgetown, D. C. The younger sons, Hugh S., and Erskine B., were officers in the army.

Among the good fortunes of Dr. Fullerton was the privilege of remaining long in one spot. The energy and activities which Dr. Thomas scattered at Hamilton, at Hanover, in the cause of the Seminaries, at Dayton, and at last at Lane Seminary, Hugh S. Fullerton concentrated at one place; and they made a household and influence known and notable. Rev. Dr. Galbreath has described a Christmas dinner there, "when for some time they enjoyed, by way of anticipation, the great bird which the head of the house had skillfully fed and fattened, parading about with bearded breast and feathers glittering in the sunlight; with metallic shades of black, and dark green, and deep, golden bronze, and head hooded with scarlet." When Dr. Fullerton, on Christmas Eve, going out at the head of a little procession of boys, took an axe and took its head off, his tender sensibilities were aroused, and he exclaimed, "Poor fellow; we have treated you badly!" "I don't know," replied Tom; "at least, in his death he has had *the benefit of the clergy.*"

Rev. George H. Fullerton has written: "Dr. Thomas was my father's friend, and I was taught as a little boy in my home at South Salem, to reverence him. The two men sympathized deeply in their anti-slavery sentiments; and I remember how my father, returning from Synod or General Assembly, would tell us with flashing eye of eloquence of Dr. T. while pleading for the slave, or confronting the representatives of the slave power."

The two men were much alike: they probably never differed on anything, after a few moments for consultation. To meet Dr. Fullerton, but casually, was always, to my father, a renewal of inspiration. Together they went to the General Assembly at Philadelphia, in 1846, determined to reverse the notorious act of the preceding year, and wholly failed. But they did procure the adoption of this resolution:

"Resolved, that in the judgment of this House, the action of the General Assembly of 1845 was not intended to deny or rescind the testimony often offered by the General Assemblies previous to that date."

(NOTE. The act of 1818 against slavery was reported by Dr. Ashbel Green, Dr. George A. Baxter, and Rev. Dyer Burgess who was from Miami Presbytery. The act of 1845 bears the impress of the hand of Dr. Chas. Hodge, although reported by Dr. N. L. Rice. Against 168 yeas in its favor were recorded thirteen nays, who were: Stephen Bliss, Jno. C. Eastman, Adam B. Gilliland, James McKean, A. S. MacMaster, Varnum Noyes, James Robertson and Jno. D. Whethane, Ministers; and Archibald Barton, Hugh Gaston, Samuel E. Hibben, Ezekiel Miller and Matthias C. Williams, Elders. The resolution stated above as obtained in 1846 was of the first importance, in that it permitted men like Dr. Fullerton to remain in the church, and in fact prevented a disruption on the slavery question.)

Dr. Hugh S. Fullerton was not permitted to see the end of the great anti-slavery conflict in which he had long born so efficient and honorable part. While all his sons were in uniform, he passed away on August 17, 1862.

FROM REV. WILLIAM DICKEY.

Slavery in Tennessee.

Bloomingburgh, Ohio, July 23, 1845.

Has the anti-slavery cause injured the condition of the slaves? Surely not. In my late journey through Kentucky and Tennessee, I did not see one dirty, ragged negro. The squads of little negroes which I used to see, naked as the pigs and calves with which they gamboled in the shade of the same grove, were now clad like human beings in shirt and pants or slips, and many of them had straw hats, such as my own little boys put on: nor did I see as formerly, boys and girls waiting at the table, in a state of stark nudity.

I was happy to acknowledge that a great change had taken place since I was conversant about Nashville fifty-five years ago, when negroes were naked and ignorant. I said I was pleased to see so much attention paid to their bodies and their minds; and I wished that the people of Tennessee might go far ahead of the people of Ohio in good offices to the negro. God speed you, dear friends, in this work. But, said I, brethren where does all this come from? Where is the root of these efforts to improve the condition of the slaves? Will you find it in the South? Never, no never! Well, we will have to go North—yes, three hunderd and sixty miles north, across the big river, we will find the occasion of these noble efforts. It will be found in that despised association called the Anti-Slavery Society. That soceity had made some shocking disclosures respecting the degradation of the slaves in the South, and you have determined that they shall not all be true much longer. And this thing is not to stop here: these people will read on, and find, at length, that they are men. And what then? And what then?

Yours in the best of bonds,

Wm. Dickey.

Rev. Dr. Wm. Dickey; his life; sweetness of character.

NOTE. Rev. William Dickey, or Father Dickey, as he was commonly known, was the son of Robert and Margaret (Hill-

house) Dickey, and was born in South Carolina, whence, when a child, his father's family were compelled to flee before Cornwallis's army, which despoiled his grandfather's farm. Soon after, his father emigrated to Southern Kentucky, where William grew up, and passed his first seventeen years as a Presbyterian minister. He removed to Fayette County, Ohio, and in 1817 organized the Presbyterian Church at Bloomingburg, over which he remained as pastor for the next forty years. His first wife was Rebecca Ross from Nashville, Tenn., his second wife was Ellen Ghormly, of Greenfield, Ohio, and he was the father of fourteen children. One son, Rice, died at Miami University while preparing for the ministry. He was a brother-in-law of Dr. Samuel Crothers, and a half-brother of Rev. Dr. James H. Dickey. He was buried on his 83rd birth-day, December 6, 1857.

Dr. Crothers said "he never knew any other man of whom so many anecdotes would be remembered. He went to the General Assembly at Philadelphia, in a suit of homespun; and being invited to preach to a large city congregation was stopped at the pulpit entrance by the sexton, who said, 'Only ministers are allowed to go up there!'"

His sermons were peculiar; but at times would burn and flame up into almost inspired speech. Dr. Galbraith writes: "He was a modest man, easily touched, of most tender sensibilities. It was not, however, always safe to presume too much on his forbearance. When he was old and feeble, he preached once in a church that had a choir in the gallery, that sang with art and skill, and was accompanied or led by instruments of music. He announced and read a long hymn for the first one, and the choir took the liberty of singing only a part of it. For the second hymn, he chose one that had but two verses, of four lines each; deliberately and reverently he read it, and then lifted that great face and turned his innocent eyes up toward the choir, and with voice soft as velvet, said: 'The choir will please sing all of this.'"

Like Gilliland, at Red Oak; and Rankin, at Ripley; and Crothers, at Greenfield; and Fullerton, at Salem, and Steele, at Hillsboro, William Dickey made his own home, and congregation and community; and to them and for them he spoke as he pleased; and like each of these men he was an early and staunch pillar of Presbyterian Abolitionism.—A. A. T.

FROM REV. DR. SAMUEL CROTHERS.

The Assembly of 1845 on Slavery.

I received last week yours of the 6th instant. I was anxiously looking for it; and I have so many things to say in reply that I scarcely know where to begin. As regards contribution for Magazine, it is probable that most of the brethren, like myself, were not aware that

the editor desired them. After the appearanc of the forthcoming number, I shall endeavor to furnish something on the compromising spirit of slaveholding Christianity as exhibited in the Assembly's decision. I was surprised by that decision. But I do rejoice they have come out honestly with their principles. Everybody now knows where they stand; and I should as soon expect a community of black-legs to maintain a respectable standing during the millenium as an ecclesiastical body to flourish after such a shameful avowal of proslavery principles, under the light that is now shining around them.

My own opinion decidedly is that we, in this region, will be better off by sending no further commissioners to the General Assembly. At the same time, perhaps your Presbytery ought to pursue the course that you suggest. Perhaps diversity of sentiment and position in this matter will have a better influence than entire unanimity.

Fullerton writes well. If you suggest it to him, he will contribute something to the Magazine worth reading.

TO ADAMS JEWETT, M. D.

Will lecture in Dayton, on the "Biblical View of Slavery."

Rossville, 20 August, 1845.

As to your proposal to visit Dayton and deliver a lecture or two on the Biblical View of Slavery, it would highly gratify me to be able to comply with your wishes. I shall address a convention at Ripley on the 26th and 27th. On the 30th, I shall probably be at Xenia; though I am not yet informed of the time for their anniversary of the County Society. After that, I shall be able, should nothing unforseen prevent, to find leisure for spending a few days at Dayton.

FROM REV. HUGH S. FULLERTON, D. D.

Going to the Assembly in Philadelphia.

Near Greenfield, O., December 11, 1845.

Dear Brother: I hoped to meet you at Synod, but could not leave home at the time of the meeting. I am glad to hear that you have had a pleasant session; and to find that you feel encouraged. I try hard to feel so myself, and sometimes succeed for a little while; but alas! the very next wave goes over me. If our brethren who oppose us on the slave question would have the magnanimity to acknowledge the pro-slaveryism of the Assembly's report, I would think we had grounds of hope. But when I see them attempting to patch up its filthy rags, and sprinkle sweet odors its stench, smelling rank to heaven, I feel cast down. But after all there is one cheering fact. They are evidently ashamed of its plain meaning. And yet, I almost despair of the next Assembly's doing anything to correct the proceedings of the last. The slaveholders feel that they have achieved a triumph, and they know how to profit by it. I have conversed with two men who have been in different slave states

since the meeting of the Assembly; they both assure me that the thing pleases slaveholders extremely well. And from all I can learn from the South, I believe the report is understood there just as abolitionists in the North have understood it, and that it was intended by many members of the Assembly to be a repeal of our former testimonies against slavery. Perhaps I look on the dark side, and may be mistaken. Time will determine.

If I understand Rice & Co., they have changed their ground. All they defend now is simply the legal relation, and that only until it can be destroyed with safety to the slave. This I believe to be the ground that will hereafter be taken pretty generally at the North. But my fear is that they are taking it merely to avoid odium and the force of our arguments, and not with the view of taking any efficient action for the purpose of purging the church of slavery by the exercise of discipline upon those who "persist in maintaining and justifying it."

I am glad to hear that you expect to be sent to the next Assembly. I have been nominated as the delegate from our Presbytery. I look forward to the meeting with great anxiety. If the Assembly, either by action or inaction, should ratify the proceedings of the last, our churches will go.

Truly your brother,

Hugh S. Fullerton.

Who controlled Assembly of '45 on its Slavery Deliverance?

NOTE. Rev. Dr. J. H. Thornwell of South Carolina, a delegate to this assembly, wrote to his wife:

Cincinnati, May 19, 1845.

"The question of slavery has been before the house, and referred to a special committee of seven. Though not a member of the committee, I have been consulted on the subject, and have drawn up a paper, which I think the committee and the Assembly will substantially adopt; and if they do, abolitionism will be killed in the Presbyterian Church, at least for the present. I have no doubts but that the Assembly, by a very large majority, will declare slavery not to be sinful; will assert that it is sanctioned by the Word of God; that it is purely a civil relation, with which the church, as such, has no right to interfere; and that abolitionism is essentially wicked, disorganizing and ruinous. I feel perfectly satisfied that this is the stand which the Assembly will take. The southern members have invited discussion, and they will triumphantly gain the day. It will be a great matter to put the agitations on slavery at rest, and to save the church from dismemberment and schism; and particularly to do it here, in the stronghold of abolitionism."

"P. S. The committee did not adopt my report fully on slavery, but will bring in one that takes nearly the same position; one which vindicates the South, and will put the question at rest." *

* Life of Thornwell, by Palmer, page 286.

FROM HON. JOHN WOODS, AUDITOR OF OHIO.

One effect of Dr. Junkin's argument. Who John Woods of Hamilton was.

Columbus, October 18, 1845.

My dear Sir: I have received and glanced over the six numbers of your magazine. The mechanical work is not well executed. This always detracts from the pleasure of reading a book.

I trust that you will go on your way prospering. There is a great necessity for waking up the churches upon the subject of slavery. I confess I am astonished at the death-like stupor which has come over Christians on this subject, especially the ministers of the gospel of light and liberty. The doctrine and preaching of such men as Junkin and Rice will do more to spread, to sow broad-cast, to give root and strength to bold infidelity and a disbelief in the Word of God than all the arguments that ever were advanced in the name of infidelity by her avowed disciples.

Does not every man know in this intelligent age—it is not necessary to argue the subject,—there is a monitor in his breast which makes him feel that slavery is a monstrous evil; that the system which countenances, permits, tolerates it,—use what soft word you will,—is false, and at war with moral truth and natural right. If the church does not see and feel this, the world will. If the Bible does not condemn this system, the Bible is not true and does not contain a pure and holy law given to man by his Creator. This will be the judgment of those who see and know and feel the degrading, corrupting influences of the system. Who has read Junkin's arguments, and such as his, to prove that the Bible "tolerates" slavery, that did not feel the whole force and weight of their arguments—if force and weight they had—to bear directly against the Bible and Christianity.

You cannot convince men that slavery is right; there is too much moral light in the world for that; but you may succeed in making many doubt whether the Bible itself is true. And this is the work which these ministers of the gospel are performing. This truth is laid upon the human heart by the impress of Heaven, that he who holds his fellow-man as a slave is guilty of a wrong; and he who attempts to falsify this truth by an appeal to the Bible, attempts to prove that the Bible is not the Word of God.

If the church,—all the true churches,—had stood united upon the right side, the moral force thus retained would have been great. But her voice is no longer heard. She has been disarmed, and her valiant men, many of them, have been taken captive.

NOTE. Hon. John Woods was born in Pennsylvania in 1794, and was of Scotch-Irish stock. He came, when a child, with his parents to Warren County, Ohio; and as a practicing lawyer, throughout his life, he lived and died at Hamilton, Ohio. He was in Congress from 1825 to 1829; then edited and published "The Hamilton Intelligencer:" from 1845 to 1851 he was Auditor of State, and is said to have left 'an indelible mark on the policy and history of Ohio.' He was a man of intense and restless energy: he died in 1855, aged 61.

FROM REV. R. H. BISHOP, D. D.

Thinks the Lord is kind to him.

Pleasant Hill, January 11, 1846.

My dear Friend: I consider it my duty and privilege to say to you

that the Lord is exceedingly kind to me. Our new enterprise has succeeded thus far well, and is in everything as promising as could have been desired, or at least expected.

As to myself, I have a Bible recitation every day in which I get some new views of Scripture history and Scripture doctrine almost daily. The young men also are generally attentive and appear contented. And indeed I never, in any former period of my life, have been connected with as many promising young men as now are in attendance here.

I hope you continue to remember us in your best devotional hours. The communion and influence of saints can in this way be enjoyed to any extent; can be carried all round the globe, and into every class of society.

I hope the Lord will continue also to direct and support and prosper you in every portion of the great and good work in which you are engaged. The time to favor Zion, even the set time is certainly near at hand: our King is preparing His instrument, His great conquering army; and happy will the young man be, or that man in middle life, who shall rightly understand the nature of that warfare, and the right use of the proper means which must be and which shall be used.

I was pleased to see your name on the synodical committee respecting the proposed college. I hope you will not be an inactive or inefficient member of that committee. Whatever may be the final conclusion, the whole subject ought now to be fully and openly, for some months, attentively considered. I hope you will be able also to make your arrangements so as to be with us here, a few days, at the close of our session.

Sincerely yours,

R. H. Bishop.

FROM REV. HUGH S. FULLERTON.

A new religious paper needed.

South Salem, Ohio, March 1, 1847.

I am very glad to find from your letter that the idea of a new paper has not been abandoned. I was afraid that Rice and Wilson would make the Presbyterian of the West so strong that it would be vain to attempt the starting of another paper in our region. Two or three numbers that fell into my hands last week, allayed this fear. I find that it is a dry concern; and that it holds on in its old course. I am much pleased with your views of what our paper ought to be. Ever since our meeting of Synod in Springfield, in the Fall of '41, I have insisted on it that we abolitionists have done our cause an injury by confining the discussion of the slave question to one single point—the sinfulness of the relation itself. I feel more than ever convinced that on this point we are right; that William Pitt spake nothing but the truth when he said "slavery is incurable injustice." At the same time, I believe with Chalmers that there are many other points from which slavery may be successfully and triumphantly attacked. And I am persuaded that if we could bring to bear upon the public mind fact and principles apart from the truth that the relation is essentially sinful, slavery might be overthrown; or, at least, that the mind might be prepared for the ultimate reception of this doctrine. Paul fed Christians at Corinth

with milk and not with meat because they were not able to bear it, being babes. We have taken a different course. Although called on to administer to the wants of a community of babes, as far as this question is concerned, we have discarded to a great degree, the use of milk. We have placed before them the whole tub full of meat, and have required them to eat it at once or else to suffer themselves to be denounced as the enemies of that which is good. Thus we have been neither as wise as serpents nor as "harmless" as a dove. By this I do not mean to say that the essential sinfulness of slavery should be kept out of view in any paper we may conduct; but what I mean to say is this, while slavery should not be the prominent thing in a religious paper, the sinfulness of the thing itself should not be the exclusive, or even prominent topic in our discussion of this question. But, brother, I desire such a paper as you propose, not only for the sake of the anti-abolitionists, but also for the abolitionists themselves. The most of them have become disgusted with our religious papers, and have ceased taking them. The consequence is that they read no papers but those devoted exclusively to the slave question. This is very unfavorable to the development of Christian character. It unavoidably leads to ultraism on this one point. This one thing absorbs the mind and heart, to the exclusion of other things necessary to their usefulness and growth in grace. If religious papers conducted on proper principles had been circulated through the religious community, secession would not have been talked of, much less resorted to, and we would be spared the pain of witnessing those scenes of fanaticism and apostacy which have disgraced not only the anti-slavery cause, but also the cause of our common Christianity.

"My heart breaketh for the longing it hath" for such a paper as you propose. I verily believe that nothing will be so well calculated, under God, to save our church from the sin of slavery, and from the judgments of heaven. Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have shall be freely given to its support. Whenever it is thought desirable to make the effort, I will devote all the time I can possibly spare to the furtherance of the project. It will meet with much favor in this region. Give my kind regards to your family.

Truly your brother,

H. S. FULLERTON.

P. S.—It seems to me that we should leave no lawful effort untried, which might redeem the Presbyterian Church from the foul reproach cast upon it by the last General Assembly. I cannot believe the Presbyterian Church was organized on a compromise with slaveholders; nor can I believe that our Lord and his Apostles held fellowship with them. I believe both were slandered by the last Assembly.

Rev. Dr. Jas. H. Dickey, father of Gen. T. Lyle Dickey of Illinois. Sketch of his life and anti-slavery service at Ripley, O.

NOTE. Rev. James H. Dickey, born in Virginia, in 1780, was a half brother of Rev. Wm. Dickey, afterwards long of Bloomingburgh, O.; and was the son of Robert and Mary Henry Dickey, who, at the close of the Revolutionary War, removed from South Carolina to Gerrard Co., Ky.

As he grew to manhood, James H. had meagre opportunities for education, but was licensed to preach in 1808. He spent some years travelling as a domestic missionary in Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana. He married Mary Depew who lived near Paris, Ky., and whose sister married Dr. Samuel Crothers, of Greenfield, O.; and in 1810 became settled as pastor over the "congregation of Buckskin," afterwards South Salem, Ohio. In charge of this church and a member of the famous Chillicothe Presbytery, he remained for the next twenty-six years. In 1837, he removed to and became pastor of the church at Union Grove, Putnam Co., Illinois, in the Peoria Presbytery. Here he continued to preach for the next sixteen years. In 1856, when seventy-six years old, "as a man goes to sleep," he passed away.

T. Lyle Dickey, of Ottawa, a distinguished officer on the staff of Gen. Grant, and subsequently Judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois, was his son: a daughter is the wife of Rev. Samuel M. Templeton, of Delavan, Ill. The late Jno. M. Dickey, of Indiana, was his cousin; Judge Alfred S. Dickey, of South Salem, O., and Rev. Dr. Claudius B. H. Martin, nephews.

Born a southerner, and reared in a slave state, James H. Dickey preached against slavery while yet in Kentucky; set free the slaves who fell to himself and his wife by inheritance, and was one of the earliest, most influential, and active of Presbyterian Ohio abolitionists; indeed, as an anti-slavery man, he was known throughout the country. No man did more in the early organization of abolition sentiment. In the contest that arose in the church over the biblical sanction of slavery, he was foremost in the field. One of the curious books of abolition literature is "A Review of a Summary of Biblical Antiquities, compiled for the use of Sabbath School Teachers, by Jas. H. Dickey, Pastor of the Church at Salem. Ripley. Published by the Abolition Society of Paint Valley, 1834." I quote the following from its pages.—A. A. T.

"That slavery is an evil grievous to be borne, is everywhere allowed. That to hold a fellow creature in bondage is cruel and unjust, is generally admitted. And yet I know of no sin so generally pleaded for, and by such able advocates. The philosopher, the moralist, the politician, the historian, the archaeologist, the commentator, the theologian, the humble writer for the Sabbath school, all, all are laid under contribution to furnish something to the slaveholder to enable him to parry the thrusts of conscience, and evade the claims of right. One discovers that right

and wrong has nothing to do with settling the order of society, and establishing the relations of life; but only with duties pertaining to relations previously established. Another has guessed that claims founded on usurpation and injustice, become good and valid only by being long persisted in. A third has found out that the Patriarchs and especially Abraham, the friend of God, were slaveholders. And they were very good men. A fourth has found out that God, in the law which he gave to Moses, permitted the Jews to put away their wives; a thing that was wrong; because of the hardness of their hearts. And hence assuredly gather that the good Lord will grant slaveholders a little indulgence; and permit them, because their hearts also are hard to hold their slaves and live on the gains of oppression. A fifth class prove from the very silence of Christ and his Apostles, that slaveholding, though a sin, and manifestly contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, is nevertheless a privileged sin, which must not be reproved unless it is done in general terms; and that very prudently, and so as not to disturb the conscience of anyone. There is not another sin in all the black catalogue of transgressions which has so many and so able advocates."

FROM REV. JOHN M. STEVENSON, D. D.

Difficulties of a new paper.

Cincinnati, March 31, 1847.

I need not say to you that I am deeply interested in the project of a new paper; although I have had little opportunity to show that interest. It has scarcely been out of my mind a half day since I saw you; and, among some encouraging thoughts, many doubts and difficulties have obtruded themselves. Let me state some of them, with the hope that it will only tend to start us securely when we do get under way.

1st. Of that mad dog cry "Abolition". Now my dear brother, I know you won't judge me for sympathizing in it; but I know of its existence, too sadly ubiquitous. Your prominent and successful conflict with Dr. Junkin has made your name,—may I say it without flattery,—widely known. And yet there are some things in said "Review", and in your written and spoken sentiments since; especially the transactions of a Convention at Pittsburg last Spring, that can be, and will be brought out against you and the paper, if you stand as the editor in the outset. Don't you think so? If aye, what can be done to avoid the difficulty?

NOTE. Rev. John M. Stevenson, D. D., was born in 1812; attended Miami University in 1832, and was graduated at Jefferson College in 1836. He attended Lane Seminary and was a tutor in Kenyon College; and, in 1841, was professor of Greek in Ohio University. In 1841, he became pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Troy, Ohio; and then was general agent in the west for the American Tract Society. In 1849, he became pastor of the Presbyterian Church in New Albany, Ind., whence he was called to be Secretary of the Tract Society in New York City, which position he has filled for thirty-four years, and in which city he still resides. Of his children, a daughter, Rosa, is the wife of President Patton of Princeton College.

During the period covered by this correspondence, and more especially from 1840 to 1860, few men were more actively useful,

or, indeed, influential in the Presbyterian Church in the West than John M. Stevenson. Always a firm and outspoken anti-slavery man, he had a practical business sagacity, which his friends, Drs. MacMaster and Thomas, greatly needed in the tasks they undertook, and which was always recognized among the trustees of Miami University, of Hanover College and of New Albany Theological Seminary. He deserves an honored place among Ohio Presbyterian Abolitionists.—A. A. T.

FROM REV. D. K. MCDONALD, EDITOR OF THE PRESBYTERIAN OF THE WEST.

Cannot discuss slavery in his paper. Abolitionists "cannot ride into society in his most genteel company".

Cincinnati, May 5, 1846.

Bro. Thomas:

I received your letter of the 28th April, making some inquiries, in a confidential way, as to my views of the necessity and propriety of discussing the subject of slavery in the religious papers of our church; and whether I thought the Presbyterian of the West could be purchased for that object.

My opinion is that our religious newspapers act wisely in leaving the subject of slavery to be discussed in other ways, and through other mediums. This being my view, I would of course oppose the sale of this paper for the purpose of making it a public combatant on the subject of slavery in our church; and thus turn it from its original and present design of being a peaceful and useful messenger to our people, without embroiling them in continual strife with each other. I sincerely hope that the great body of those in our church who long to see our Zion arise and shine, and the cause of God abundantly prospering among us, desire to see the paper move forward in neutral, quiet, wise course on this subject which it has hitherto pursued, without entering into the merits of the question pro or con. If the parties to either side of this question wish to discuss it through the public prints, the way is open to them to establish periodicals for that purpose, to advocate and extend their peculiar views. Surely a paper established and sustained upon known principles, will not turn aside from those principles to take up the hobby of every individual that might wish to ride into society in the most genteel company, to agitate, distract and divide. * * *

If you have special messages to the people; if you wish to enlighten them with your peculiar views, you must find some other messenger than the Presbyterian of the West.

Who most genteel and influential Presbyterian company was in Cincinnati in 1846. Rev. Josh L. Wilson; his son Rev. Dr. Saml. R. Wilson et al. Sketch of their lives and influence. One man's protest. Who was he?

NOTE. The Presbyterian paper in Cincinnati was now under the influence of Dr. J. L. Wilson and his son. Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, D. D., was born in Bedford County, Va., in 1774. His father, a physician, dying when the son was four years old, his mother removed to Kentucky, where, until he was twenty-two

years old, he received only such education as she herself could give him. He then studied under Rev. James Vance, in whose school near Louisville he also taught. He became pastor of the church at Bardstown, Ky., and in 1808, removed to Cincinnati, where he became and remained for the next thirty-eight years, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. Dr. Wilson was a man often likened to Andrew Jackson; of intense character; marked ability and a great controversialist. In 1835, he led the prosecution of Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher, for heresy; and he was the most active minister in the West in forcing the disruption of the Presbyterian Church, which took place in 1838. He took a prominent part in public affairs, and published many volumes of sermons and addresses, chiefly controversial. One of his sons, the Rev. Dr. Sam'l R. Wilson, followed his father in the pastorate of the First Church in Cincinnati; was perhaps of even more ability, activity, and influence in the Presbyterian organization than his father, and was probably the most decided pro-slavery man in that church in the North, if he may fairly be said to have been of the North. Although the anti-slavery cause had not made much headway until Dr. Joshua L. Wilson had passed the prime of his life and activity, he was for nearly forty years, within the Presbyterian Church, a stout champion of the cause of American slavery, and on free soil. He always preached biblical sanction for human slavery as it existed in this country. We quote from a discourse delivered in Cincinnati in 1839, on "Relation and Duties of Servants and Masters":

NOTE. To the discourse of Dr. Joshua L. Wilson I shall take the responsibility of giving this title

PRESBYTERIANISM IN ITS DEGRADATION

"After the destruction of the old world and the release of Noah and his family from the ark, we have a short, but mournful account of a transaction which has left a blot upon the character of the patriarch and stampt upon a portion of his posterity the seal of degradation. * * * * Noah became a husbandman, planted a vineyard, and in process of time became intoxicated, by drinking wine. Ham, one of his sons, the father of Canaan, wickedly exposed his father's shame to his brethren, Shem and Japheth. They, with filial affection and respect, in the most delicate manner, protected their venerable parent from further mockery, and administered a merited rebuke to their depraved brother. But God who saw the end from the beginning; who saw that this was only the prelude to a course of wickedness in the family of Ham; who claims the right of punishing sin in whatever way he will; who visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children

down to the generations of them that hate him; determined to punish the descendants of Ham, under his providential government, by making them servants to their brethren. Accordingly he inspired Noah to pronounce the curse of servitude, not upon Ham personally, but upon his posterity. * * * Wherever this curse fell, and whenever the prophecy was fulfilled, then and there, under the providential government of God, was the relation between servants and masters formed. If men can forfeit their lives by sin, they can also forfeit their liberties, and God may also punish them by war, or famine, or pestilence, or fire from heaven, or servitude, as 'seemeth good in his sight.' This truth can only be denied by gross infidelity."

In response to such doctrine, and this sermon, one of his congregation (NOTE. Who was he?) published the following:

"To the Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, Senior pastor, with the session and membership of the First Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati.

"Brethren: As I have lately taken my letter and withdrawn from your fellowship, I feel anxious to give yourselves and the public my reasons for a step so unusual in one of my advanced age and fixed habits.

"I have lived in Cincinnati twenty-five years, fourteen of which I have been a member of the Presbyterian Church. I thought we all were opposed to slavery. I did not dream that the church was doing anything to encourage slaveholders, or to uphold their system. If there is a sin on earth, it is making innocent men slaves or keeping them so. Now with the above sentiments, I cannot continue in the First Presbyterian Church, for the following among other reasons, viz:

"1st. Your communion is open to all slaveholders who are members of Presbyterian churches south of the Ohio.

"2nd. My second reason for withdrawing from your communion is, besides fellowshiping with slaveholders, it gives slavery itself the strongest support, viz, a silent support.

"3rd. A third reason for my withdrawal is, that your pastor openly defends slaveholding, from the sacred desk, while he pretends to regard the system as evil.

"4th. The last reason I would mention for my withdrawal is, that I honestly believe your church, as now conducted, tends more to support sin in general, than to destroy it. When a church fellowships the greatest and worst sins of the land, can it effectually oppose the less? And while you uphold slaveholding, you can make no thinking man believe you sincere in opposing any sin whatever.

"The truth is, such a church has lost its hold on the consciences of reflecting men, and they frequent it out of habit, fashion, or some motive equally selfish."—A. A. T.

FROM ROBERT MCGREW, PUBLISHERS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN OF THE WEST.

Free speech may buy expression, if it has the money.

Cincinnati, Sept. 3, 1846.

DEAR SIR:

The first year of the Presbyterian of the West will terminate on the 18th inst., and the probability is that my sons, who are now the publishers, may cease to publish it any longer under the present arrangement. They cannot afford to pay such a salary to the Editor, and they are

free to dispose of it as they can. Now I should like to know what could be done, in your opinion, with the property, by opening its columns to a free and full discussion of the slavery question, and keep it as an Old School Presbyterian paper. The subscription list is about 2400.

Respectfully,
Robert McGrew.

TO HIS WIFE.

The Assembly of '46. Dr. Thomas visits Dr. Bishop at "Farmer's College". Finds him before his students, at his best.

Philadelphia, 2d June, 1846.

Dearest One:

The subject of slavery came up yesterday on the report of the committee. I had the floor first, and spoke for perhaps an hour. I was enabled to follow your very kind and good advice, and to speak with perfect calmness and good temper. The result, as I have been informed from several quarters, was favorable. Southern men who at first attempted (privately)to ridicule my remarks, by degrees became attentive, and when I closed, admitted that what I said was reasonable and proper. Several Southern men congratulated me on the moderation of my speech, and yet I need not say to my dear wife, that I kept back nothing of my sentiments. I should not have said so much on this subject, and with reference to myself were I not writing to my better half.

The Assembly adjourned this morning. Our sessions have been very agreeable. Dr. Musgrave of Baltimore and Dr. McFarland of Va., although strong anti-abolitionists, parted from me in the kindest way. Dr. Lindsley, of Nashville, although entirely dissenting from our opinions in regard to slavery, politely requested Brother Fullerton and myself to visit the South, and enjoy his hospitality. Dr. Breckenridge of Louisville made the same request in the same manner. Dr. Hodge of Princeton shook hands with me very affectionately on parting. He is one of the most modest, gentle, lovely men I ever met with. He blushes like a young bride when anything complimentary is addressed to him. At the same time, he is one of the most dignified, talented and learned men of the Presbyterian, perhaps I might say of the American clergy. I would that I might possess something of his lovely, amiable, Christian spirit. I am free to confess that however widely I may differ from him in opinion in regard to slavery, my prejudices against him personally have wholly vanished.

In starting for the West, I need not say I set my face in that direction with great reluctance, leaving almost all that is dear to me east of the Alleghanies. I go this P. M. on the steamboat to Baltimore. A large party of our delegates to the Assembly, western and southern, take the same conveyance. Dr. Wm. Breckenridge kindly invited Brother Fullerton and myself to form a party with him and others, to take a separate stage at Cumberland, where we leave the railroad, and pass the mountains to Brownsville. Our party will be a very pleasant one; consisting of Drs. Wm. L. and Robt. J. Breckenridge; the intended stepdaughter of the latter (he is soon to be married,—his wife died a year more or less ago); Dr. J. C. Young and his eldest daughter; a friend from Baltimore and ourselves. If my own dear wife was in company, I should be perfectly happy in such society.

On Tuesday morning at four o'clock, we set off for Pleasant Hill, and had a delightful ride. The air was fresh and balmy; a slight rain having fallen the evening before; and the country on every side, offered a charming sight. Our vegetation now is in

the height of its beauty; and the lofty forests, in their summer dress of variously shaded green, are lovely and magnificent. I have never seen any forests that would compare with those of Ohio. I called on Dr. Bishop and attended two of his recitations. He lectured to one class on originality of character as a qualification for usefulness; illustrating his *general principles* by very numerous examples from the biography of American statesmen; and concluded with a few rules for the proper perusal of biography, an employment in which the class is now engaged. The lecture was truly admirable; fully equal to any that I heard from him during my connection with Miami University. The class were young men with very good, intelligent-looking countenances; and they paid the strictest attention. Dr. B's health and spirits are better now than they have been for several years. I believe I told you that he is residing in the house built for him by the Alumni, and a very neat, convenient, pleasant one it is.

TO HIS WIFE.

Who fears he does not know how to live when she is away.

Rossville, 17th June, 1846.

Dearest One:

I have just received your kind and refreshing letter, for which I have been anxiously waiting and inquiring more than a week. * * Although late, I will at once reply; reading your letter again and answering your numerous questions as they occur.

First, however, permit me to ask that you *date* your letters. Your first letter had "May 1846"; this, "Tuesday Eve. 1846". Now as there are several Tuesday Eves in 1846, I hardly know to which to assign your epistle. 1. I sent several copies of the Philadelphia Sun, containing the proceedings of both Assemblies, which I hope you received. 2. Dr. Hodge of Princeton, is the author of the "Way of Life". 3. Ministers in the Presbyterian Church are *not* required to become members of their own churches. Their connection is with the Presbytery. Ministers are *under Shepherds;* (see 1 Peter 5, 1-4). With what propriety then, can they be made sheep of their own flock? 4. I *lost* nothing during my whole journey except Hitchcock's Geology. My clothes were well done, and uninjured, while at Philadelphia. (By the way, speaking of your washerwoman, you should not say "a poor, but worthy woman", etc. *Poverty* is not inconsistent with *goodness;* on the contrary, it is as frequently associated with that quality as *riches*, perhaps more frequently. Pardon this correction).

* * 7. I board at my brother's, and am very punctual: I don't keep them waiting. 8. I don't read books or papers at table; hav'n't done so for sometime; don't intend to do so again. * * 12. Our yard has been mowed well and looks very pretty: the little sweet briar in front of your chamber window has grown up above the window-seat. * *

* * * *

In reply to your 18th question, (surely you justify your Yankee origin), I may say that your letter was charged single postage, although *doubly* precious to me in size and contents.

So far then, my good wife, I have written by way of answer to your interrogatories. If your letter was helter skelter, what a medley was mine! * * * *

* * * * * * * * *

FROM REV. R. H. BISHOP, D. D.

Cary's Academy, August 9, 1848.

My dear friend: Were I to begin life again, and were I to be engaged in teaching through another thirty or forty years, I would act, in many things, very differently from the course which I have often or generally followed.

No general principle is with me more clear, than that the improvement of a young man's mind and the formation of his character for any department of life do not depend so much on the length of time devoted to preparatory studies or on the number of subjects to which his attention may be directed, as on the clearness and accuracy of his conceptions of any *one* useful subject.

A young man has got a good education when he has acquired the command of his own mind, so that he can apply it with ease to any of the ordinary purposes of human life. And I honestly believe that one of the great evils of all our schools, from the lowest to the highest, is an attempt to teach too many things in a given time, whether it may be one subject or another.

I apply these facts or principles to our theological seminaries; and however useful such seminaries as Princeton and Lane, etc., etc., may be or may have been, it is my settled conviction that as efficient ministers may be secured in far less time and at far less expense of labor.

The outline of my plan is something like the following:

1. To give no encouragement to any young man to study theology, or to take any course preparatory to the study of theology, till his character and talents are well known.

2. I take a young man of established piety and who has gotten a good English education at any age from eighteen to twenty-five; and if he has made any progress in the study of Greek or Latin, so much the better; but not an essential prerequisite, provided he gives evidence of a good, sound mind, and that he is sincerely and honestly devoted to the service of the Redeemer: and I would put him under the direction of a competent, working, efficient pastor.

3. Under his supervision, let his first year be chiefly devoted to Philosophy; and let the grammars of the three languages be his chief study, English, Latin, Greek; and let him continue this study till he can read with ease the Greek Testament and any portion of Caesar. When he has thus far advanced, let him begin his theological course in the regular study of the history and doctrines and prophecies of the Bible; and let him write a dissertation on some subject of Bible history every week.

4. At the commencement of his second or third year of study, as the case may be, let him take some approved system of theology, say the Westminster Confession or Dick's Theology,

and let him study a chapter or lecture every week, and continue to write dissertations on subjects directly from the Bible.

5. Let him be put under the care of Presbytery at any convenient stage, and let him be employed all the time of his preparatory studies in Sabbath-school or tract distribution and prayer- meetings, etc., etc., etc., under the direction of his pastor.

Now for the application.

Could you not commence a course of instruction and supervision, on a plan of this kind? If so, let me know it as soon as convenient, and I will furnish you with some two or three men to begin with.

Sincerely yours,

R. H. Bishop.

P. S. My notion is, some two to five pious and active young men under your direction would be a tolerable addition to the moral and religious influence of Hamilton, which has hitherto been for young men a nursery for ————————. (NOTE. Illegible on the manuscript, but not difficult to be supplied by any resident of Hamilton). I think also that your parochial school and Farmer's College might aid and react on each other. Let a young man of the right stamp be one year or eighteen months here, and then two or three years with you; then eighteen months here and again one year or eighteen months with you, etc.

NOTE. Dr. Bishop was a great teacher because he had been well taught; because he had a genius for the business, and because of the training of a long experience. Sometime, when Miami justifies herself, she will frescoe her vestibule with part of the first three paragraphs of this letter. Or she might frame and hang these sentences in her School of Pedagogy. We can wait until she does: meanwhile, the printer may set the copy here.

"Cary's Academy, August 9, 1848.

"Were I to begin my life again, and were I to be engaged in teaching through another thirty or forty years, I would act, in many things, very differently from the course which I have often or generally followed.

No general principle is with me more clear, than that the improvement of a young man's mind and the formation of his character for any department of life do not depend so much on the number of subjects to which his attention may be directed, as on the clearness and the accuracy of his conceptions of any *one* useful subject.

A young man has got a good education when he has acquired the command of his own mind, so that he can apply it with ease to any of the ordinary purposes of human life. And I honestly believe that one of the great evils of all our schools, from the lowest to the highest, is an attempt to teach too many things in a given time, whether it may be one subject or another."

The misnomer of "Farmer's College" was due to the Carys, not to Dr. Bishop: to him from the time he went there, it was Cary's Academy.

The teaching of old Dr. Adam in the high school of Edinburg was narrow, but the finest in the world to give a student

trained capacity to learn other things. The mistake is in supposing that at first, by widening a student's studies you strengthen his mind and widen his interest. The reverse is true, —so at least Dr. Bishop thought, after forty years of teaching. If Dr. Bishop's words have value, it is because they are wise; and practical and needed and of permanent and general application, in all schools and to every student, in his "preparatory studies" and in his later technical training.

You laugh at the narrowness of Bishop's ideal of what a student's ought to be. My father, his pupil, did not so understand. While teaching in Franklin and quickly fitting for the ministry, he lectured there on chemistry with demonstrations, in church, to large and entertained audiences, who were not special students. Five years later, Prof. Jno. W. Scott and he rode often in Southwestern Ohio, botanizing, and my father taught botany for years. Later yet, Jared M. Stone and he made a collection of rocks and fossils in Southern Indiana that attracted curiosity and gratitude of Prof. Henry of the Smithsonian Institution. Throughout the war, he by voice and pen, led and held this whole Dayton community to the support of the war, which to him was a crusade.

Nothing was further from the wishes of these early teachers of Miami than to have education go on in the groove it had come to them in. Dr. Bishop listened, and warmly approved what Dr. MacMaster said when resigning the presidency at Oxford, on the essentials of professional education. There was nothing narrow about that, and it is the best written or spoken word in the literature of Pedagogics.

The wants of an unheard of and urgent industrial development require our sons to study, not "Dick's Theology," but Dynamometry and gas engines, do they? Then let them. Admission to a mechanical engineering course at Cornell now requires a breadth and degree of preparation measured on one item, by advanced French and advanced German. Its president called such students together this year, and regretfully announced that experience began to convince Cornell's instructors that its variety of studies and high attainment do not consist; and that to reach such high attainment they must abandon so many avenues of approach.

If report comes to me correctly, he would now highly approve the first three paragraphs of the above letter. If those words were on your vestibule, and he should visit Miami, he would more likely copy them in his note book; then go home and tell his students what they were, than try to remember the wide variety of electives you offer to unmatured minds,—a mistake his university is making already. If those words of Dr. Bishop have wisdom, they are modestly said, and apply to any student

in the obscurity of any remote home in touch with any "Correspondence School."

Kindly think if these things be not so, and if they be so, let us forget the threadbare coat Dr. Bishop wore, and the price of cornmeal and barley corns which Miami University fed him.

The second half of Dr. Bishop's letter, for it divides itself in two parts, is not less striking. The writer of the Centennial memorial, chapter 1, derides President Garfield's favorite and famed definition of a liberal education,—"Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and student on the other."

President Eliot of Harvard, from the vantage ground of much experience to qualify him to know, seems to be in favor of Garfield's view. In an address he said:

"To the making of a gentleman what is necessary? In the first place natural gifts. * * In other words he is a person of fine bodily and spiritual qualities, mostly innate. Secondly, he must have thorough elementary education, early access to books, and therefore to great thoughts and high examples. Thirdly, he must be early brought into contact with some refined and noble person—father, mother, teacher, pastor, employer, or friend."

In trying to express the same thing, Dr. Bishop in his postscript, uses the better words "a young man of the right stamp." He would have taken his pen and erased from Eliot's line the word "bodily." "But E. was speaking of the making of a gentleman." Yes, but it does not take bodily qualities to do that. Lincoln proved this. In a beautiful biographical tribute to his dead son, President Eliot writes: "He believed that a loving God rules the universe, that the path to loving Him lies through loving and serving men, and that the way to worship Him is to reverence the earthly beauty, truth, and goodness He has brought forth." *

Dr. Bishop would have taken his pen and erased the word "earthly."

Perhaps the latter half of Dr. Bishop's letter was, for a theological student not so bad an offer. Only a log,—on the one end the old doctor feeling he had "the arm of the Almighty about him;" on the other Dr. Thomas, who would teach him Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Exegesis. Kindly note the doctor offers no Y. M. C. A. "technical training in ninety days," with a diploma at the end. Read again in the postscript of this letter, the "first year," and "the second and third year" of study, he is to write and at last to preach, while he is learning and when he has learned what to say. Please note again, that about them then *were* many young men hungry for these technics, who looked up and were not fed; they had no money, and what Dr. Bishop proposed, would cost them nothing. A. A. T., May, 1909.

* "Chas. Eliot, Landscape Architect," page 748.

TO REV. CHARLES STURDEVANT, D. D.

Would he "disturb the community"?

Rossville, 25th June, 1849.

My dear Brother Sturdevant:

You have no reason to fear wearying me with your epistles. I know the kind intentions which dictate your letter; although I must wholly disagree with your conclusions.

"Could I ask a slaveholder to preach for me"? There are some men more or less connected with slavery whom I should feel it a privilege to hear; but I fear there are not a few who might show clean papers, technichally so called, whom I could neither ask to preach, nor sit to hear. I should be obliged to judge every case on its merits. If I met with a minister excusably involved, I should seek any ministerial or other association with him. Secondly. "Would you feel it your duty to discuss this great and perplexing subject, either in public or in private, to the disturbance of the community?" You scarcely mean to ask whether I would discuss the question or preach on it, for the purpose of disturbing a community; and if you mean to enquire whether I should discuss it *as duty might seem to demand*, without regard to all the clamor on earth or in hell, I answer, YES. I thank God no subject is so great or perplexing that I should hesitate to discuss it publicly or privately, whenever in the providence of God the circumstances around me might require it, without forethought or afterthought, as to the effect the truth might have in disturbing anybody. I do not mean to say that I should, under any circumstances feel myself obliged to preach about slavery merely to show my independence; that were folly; but it is my deliberate conviction that the man is unworthy of the pulpit who would, in any way, or to any extent, enter into a compromise with public sentiment in reference to this subject, or tone down his preaching as an ambassador of God. Pardon me, if I need pardon, for the faithful statement of my consciencious belief on this subject, which, in my judgment is a vital one.

DR. ROBERT H. BISHOP TO PROFESSOR JARED M. STONE.

Sees in retrospect and for the first time, "the difficulties with which he was surrounded the last five years at Oxford". But feels "the arm of the Almighty has been about him". "Disappointments often the greatest blessings".

My dear friend: 26 June, 1849.

What I did, or said, or proposed, as to a new organization of Miami University, was all on the spur of the moment; and, as I

know my own heart, I had no personal or private ends to gratify. I was, however, in that, as on some other occasions, but suffering by being too full and forward in uttering at once all my thoughts. If I know myself, no man can feel more deeply for the permanent prosperity of Miami University than I do; but I have not wished to force my views or plans.

One word more. I regret that I was not informed that Dr. Anderson's name was to be introduced, previous to the meeting of the Board. I should not in that case have written all that I have written; yet I hold to my general principle, that the hope of Miami University must be in her sons.

I never since I left Kentucky, saw and felt the evils of slander as I now see and feel them; and I had no adequate conception of the difficulties with which I was surrounded during my last five years residence in Oxford, till I had been one year in a new situation. My life has been full of mistakes and blunders; still I have some considerable evidence that the arm of the Almigthy has been about me; and that some of my disappointments have been among my greatest mercies. I ought now to be done with all the plans, in contriving and balancing of different interests and human arrangements, to be ready to depart at any hour's warning for another world.

Sincerely yours,

R. H. Bishop.

IV

TO REV. W. SICKELS, A TRUSTEE OF HANOVER COLLEGE.

The education of Northern ministers in a slave state. What will follow, if the young men go to Danville.

My Dear Brother Sickels: Hanover College, 21 July, 1854.

I came to the conclusion that I should exchange Hanover College for New Albany Theological Seminary, very slowly, and I may say reluctantly. We greatly need a seminary in the free states of the West: our men are seriously dissatisfied with Princeton;—many of them are not there,—will not go there. I cannot persuade myself that the Head of the Church would approve our sending them to the slave state, for that training. I believe that a greater blow could scarcely be inflicted upon our northern church. Let southern students, born and reared among the influences of slavery, receive their education at Danville. They may come out with a cordial abhorrence of slavery. But take Northern men there to overcome their "prejudices" by familiarity with the peculiar institution—in other words, blunt their sensibilities, sear their conscience, erase all recollections of the love of freedom which a mother's early lessons had taught; and you prepare them, and send them over our free regions to be the very stoutest advocates of American slavery. I say again, may God spare our churches from such a ministry. I have no idea of making New Albany Seminary an "abolition concern", in the sense which many good men would attach to that phrase; yet I would prefer an abolition to a pro-slavery concern, if we must have either. But if our churches in the North West not only do not build up an institution where their sons may be trained at home; but actually throw away $50,000 already secured for it, and abandon what our fathers have labored on during a quarter of a century; they do actually recommend their candidates for the ministry to seek an education at Danville. And I have assurance that many were prepared to put such an interpretation upon our action.

FROM REV. W. C. ANDERSON, D. D.

Who as President of Miami Succeeded Dr. MacMaster.

Rev. Dr. Thomas. San Francisco, 5 August, 1856.

Dear Brother: John leaves us this morning to spend another year with you. If he can be licensed at the close of your next session, and

with the necessary preparations, I will be pleased. We need help sadly in these wide desolations; and the mining towns and camps present an interesting field for a young man to practice on; but he must be able to preach to some purpose, or it is vain to do anything among them. Such communities, Brother Thomas, you never saw, and never will see unless you come to California. Think of a congregation of four hundred to seven hundred rough looking customers, with long beards and mustaches, slouched hats and red shirts; not a dozen females among the lot; and perhaps one-half of the entire number are graduated at some of our best American Colleges; the other half shrewd, keen, knowing ones: all critics; all, as they suppose, judges, and in fact judges. The man who enters such a congregation and supposes that he is addressing a collection of Welsh and English miners, or of ordinary laboring men, is just as far up the wrong tree as he can climb without endangering his neck.

I hope that you will be able to make a first class preacher out of my son. If you do not, please keep him at home, and get him a church in Ohio or Indiana. We have enough of common men here already, in the ministry, and when I came I think that there was one more than enough.

TO NATHANIEL FISHER, HIS FATHER-IN-LAW.

Dr. Thomas's work; finances; the completed result of twenty years labor in the ministry. Review of the question of Seminary, and its removal. Names of men co-operating.

New Albany Theolog. Seminary,
Nov. 14, 1856.

My dear Sir:

As relates to my own employment, I am still engaged in the Seminary; in addition to which, since last April, I have been preaching on the Sabbath to the church at Jeffersonville, about six miles east of us on the Ohio. I have usually, through the summer, walked up early on Sabbath morning; preached at 10:30 A. M.; held a Bible Class at 3:30 P. M.; preached again at night; and walked home after service Sabbath night, or before breakfast on Monday. This, together with three hours of daily teaching in the seminary, and the necessary private study, gives me full employment; and may justify the inference that I am blessed with health and strength. The opportunity to preach was a providential opening unsought, and indeed unexpected; but it came as all blessings do come, very opportunely. My salary here is twelve hundred dollars, and is paid slowly but really. This would seem to be enough; but as I did not receive from Hanover College all that was due me when I left, I had some debts which I have since paid out of money received here. And then, for the past two or three years, provisions of all sorts, (and indeed all things) have been so high-priced that $1200 have not been worth more than $600 I received at Hamilton, with former prices of marketing. Besides this, our family now growing up, and requiring education, (May is taller than her mother) calls for an increased expenditure. It was a kind providence, therefore, which opened the way for usefulness at Jeffersonville, not at all interfering with my seminary duties, but adding $500 per year, paid every week, to our income. We hope and expect, when we leave New Albany, as we probably shall leave next spring, to be out of debt, here and everywhere. And this freedom from indebtedness which I have never enjoyed before since I left college, will be the pecuniary result of twenty years hard labor in the ministry. I completed my twenty years as a minister about the middle of October last. To owe nothing and own nothing will be all that I can boast in this line. Surely the ministry, in these days, does not present many

worldly attractions! Blessed be God that there are other rewards than those which can be estimated in dollars and cents! I have spoken of our leaving New Albany next Spring. I suppose you have heard something of our recent plans for the removal of the seminary; or rather for the establishment of a new one, in which this is to be merged.

To explain this movement, I must inform you that the New Albany Seminary was established here in 1840, with a view to unite in its support the churches in Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, as well as those of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. In fact, however, no earnest or effective co-operation was ever secured, and the seminary remained but partially endowed and manned. In 1853, the General Assembly was invited to take charge of and perfect our seminary; but, through the influence of one or two men from Kentucky, and the predominance of Southern power and sympathy, the Assembly virtually declined the offer of this seminary, and established another at Danville, Ky. The Synods in the free states were displeased with this action: the three Synods of Cincinnati, Indiana, and Northern Indiana determined to maintain the seminary here. I was then at Hanover, but was a director of the seminary, and felt a deep interest in the education of our future ministry in a free state, away from the polluting influences of slavery.

It was foreseen, however, that when Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri had withdrawn, New Albany was no longer a suitable place for our seminary; being wholly on one side of the territory which it was designed to supply. Still, we felt satisfied that we had better wait a while before we attempted a removal. In the meantime, we could do nothing toward an increase of endowment; could not, therefore, increase the number of professors; and so could not compete fairly with the older and better furnished institutions. We could expect but few students, and must await patiently doing what we could, until the time had come for action. This summer, after mature consideration of the subject, we were satisfied that the time had come. Accordingly I drew up an appeal to the seven Synods of the northwestern free States, which was signed by a number of our friends,* and sent in a printed pamphlet to all our churches and ministers in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa. Dr. MacMaster, Dr. Stevenson, (the pastor of the church here) and I attended the meetings of the Synods this fall. Dr. S. and I first visited the Synod of Cincinnati, Oct. 2nd, at Urbana, Ohio. That body with the exception of one man, adopted a constitution of a new seminary, which had been already prepared at New Albany; and appointed directors to meet at Chicago, and take the necessary measures for establishing the institution, and incorporating into it this seminary. From Urbana, Dr. S. and I went to Chicago, where we spent a day and separated; he to visit the Iowa Synod, at Burlington; I to meet that of Wisconsin, at Janesville; while Dr. MacMaster met that of Illinois, at Springfield. The three Synods met on the same day, and unanimously adopted our constitution.

Next week, I went to Crawfordsville, Ind., where the Synod of Northern Indiana met; while Dr. S. met the Synod of Chicago at Prince-

* This appeal was signed by E. D. MacMaster, J. M. Stevenson, J. W. Scott, J. G. Monfort, H. Maltby, Jno. F. Crowe, Thos. S. Crowe, T. E. Thomas, John Crozier, Victor King, Cyrus Falconer, Nehemiah Wade, O. N. Stoddard, Ch. Elliott, J. H. McCampbell, P. S. Shields and Jno. Bushness.

ton, Ill. The Synods of Chicago and Northern Indiana took early and unanimous action in favor of the new Seminary; so that Dr. S. and I reached Paris, Ill., he from the West and I from the East, within half an hour of each other on Saturday evening; and had the satisfaction of aiding in the adoption of our constitution the same evening; thus completing the work. Each of the Synods elected Directors. The Board of Directors assembled this day week in Chicago. (NOTE. They were: Synod of Cincinnati, Rev. R. L. Stanton, Rev. J. G. Montfort, Rev. N. West, Jr., Rev. W. B. Spence, Prof. O. N. Stoddard, J. M. Glover, Esq., E. A. Moore, Esq.—Synod of Indiana, Rev. Jno. M. Stevenson, Rev. Jno. A. Steele, Rev. Alex. Street, A. R. Forsythe, Esq., James Blake, Esq., James M. Ray, Esq.—Synod of Northern Indiana, Rev. J. C. Brown, Rev. Levi Hughs, Victor King, Esq., Jesse L. Williams, Esq.,—Synod of Illinois, Rev. T. W. Haynes, Rev. F. N. Ewing, James L. Lamb, Esq.—Synod of Chicago, Rev. S. T. Wilson, Rev. R. C. Matthews, C. A. Spring, Esq.—Synod of Iowa, Rev. Joshua Phelps, Rev. Jas. D. Mason, Rev. J. J. Baird, Hon. Lincoln Clark, Jno. P. Conkey, Esq.—Synod of Wisconsin, Rev. J. M. Buchanan, Rev. H. M. Robertson, Warren Norton, Esq.) I was not present; but Dr. Stevenson, who was a member of the Board, and Dr. MacMaster, have just returned.

They agreed to establish the new seminary called "The Theological Seminary of the North West", about seven miles southeast of Chicago, on the shore of Lake Michigan, and on the Michigan Central Railway. The site is a beautiful elevation, covered with forest trees. The railroad makes it but a few moments distant from the city. Here, the Board proposes to erect a suitable seminary building, and houses for three professors; and it is hoped that they may be ready by next Fall, so that the institution may be opened in October. Dr. MacMaster and I were elected professors in the departments we now occupy; and the Rev. Dr. John Brown, President of Jefferson College, Penn., was appointed to the professorship of Church History.

I have not yet decided whether to accept the professorship offered me; and if I should, I shall not remove there until our support is secured by the endowment.

NOTE. The names of the Directors of the New Albany Theological Seminary, successively, were the following:

S. Ramsey Wilson, J. N. Candee, Joseph G. Monfort, William S. Potts, Samuel Steele, Tho. V. Thornton, W. C. Matthews, H. H. Cambern, Williamson Dunn, Jno. Bushnell, Sylvester Scovel, Victor King, J. Finley Crowe, N. L. Rice, Tho. E. Thomas, Frances Monfort, Daniel Stewart, Chauncey Leavenworth, T. E. Hughes, James Coe, W. C. Anderson, Sam'l Cleland, S. Newell, Elias Ayers, Wm. Plummer, R. G. Wilson, E. D. MacMaster, Jas. C. Barnes, J. Edwards, Wm. W. Hill, Edw. P. Humphrey, Jno. S. Galloway, D. L. Gray, Henry L. Brown, J. S. Shields, Jno. D. Therpel, W. Richardson, J. S. Bereyman, Jno. Clark Bayliss, R. C. Grundy, A. R. Forsythe, Jos. C. Clappe, Phillip Lindsley, James Wood, Thos. A. Biggs, Sr., Alex. Sterrit, M. Sturgus, W. L. Breckenridge, David Osborn, F. N. Ewing, Edw. H. Hopkins, Tho. V. Thornton, Sam'l Casseway, J. M. Preston, Owen Glass, A. B. Andrew, Chas. Sturdevant, L. J. Halsey, Sam'l McCampbell, J. M. Stevenson, J. D. Paxton, E. K. Lynn, Jno. F. Smith, Dan'l Lattimore, Hugh S. Fulerton, M. Maltby, Thos. Whallen, J. A. Steele, Jno. Hendricks, W. Y. Allen, Jesse L. Williams, Jno. M. Worrell, Alex. McPheeters, E. W. Wright, Levi Hughs, J. S. Weaver, Wm. A. Ustick, James Blake, A. B. McKee, W. B. Spence, D. D. McKee, Jno. Milligan, Cyrus Falconer, Sam'l S. Potter, Wm. Bishop, J. H. McCampbell.

TO PROFESSOR JARED M. STONE.

Cannot remain professor in Seminary, unless he will be silent on Slavery question. "'I'd rather be a dog and bay the moon' than a professor in such a Seminary".

New Albany, Ind., 10 Aug. 1857.

My dear Brother Stone:

Your favor of July 30th reached me the day I went to Hanover. I am glad to hear of your health. May your shadow and that of your University never grow less! For myself, I am supplying Dr. Stevenson's place here, until the Synods meet this Fall; after that I know not yet where I shall be; perhaps I may remain here longer, perhaps not.

As for our seminary at Chicago, I fear from late information, that all is lost. Brother Spring, etc., have gone over horse, foot and dragoons to Dr. Rice. He has been called to the North Church in Chicago; will probably go; and his design is to place the seminary under the Assembly; or eject us, and place safe men at its head. Of course he is the safest man in the northwest. Should a majority of the Synods sustain this movement, the seminary will be as safe as that of Columbia, S. C. Perhaps there may be a new controversy and then a division; and all will be dead as a door nail.

The ground taken, as I understand it, by the leading influences at Chicago is, that the seminary, and its professors are to be entirely silent on the slavery question; to believe nothing, do nothing. You know me well enough to need no assurance that "I'd rather be a dog and bay the moon than" a professor in such a seminary. The plan is to put the seminary under the General Assembly, vacating the chairs, of course; and then no danger of MacMaster's election or mine. I would, for the sake of the seminary, and for the regard I have had and still strive to entertain for our good brethren at Chicago, that all this were false; but I have evidence that will not permit me to doubt its truth. McCormick, the Reaper man, and a warm friend of Senator Douglas, has offered $2,000 a year toward Dr. Rice's salary, if the church will give $3,000 more. I learn to-day that Dr. Rice preached in Chicago yesterday, and will probably accept the call which has been given.

It is painful to think that such is to be the end of all our efforts. But God reigns, and will bring order out of confusion. For my own part, I have never accepted the professorship tendered me; and did not intend to do so, until I should see whether the Synods would sustain the acts of the Board of Directors. While I am not, and never was disposed to divide the church on the slavery question, or anything else; or to ride it as a hobby, forgetful of the many other questions which invite attention, I

can never consent to be dumb at the bidding of any Board, clique, or party in church or state.

You ask me what I think of Fullerton's suggestion. Certainly I feel deeply grieved in view of the present lamentable declension of our church regarding slavery; and should our own northwestern Synods virtually declare that hostility to slavery, however expressed, is enough to place a man under the ban of the church, I shall feel still more deeply the humiliation of our condition; seeing that in the lowest deep, a lower still opens to devour us. And yet I am not prepared to abandon the church of my fathers. Rather let all who would rescue her from the thraldom of the Slave Power unite in such measures as may, with the divine blessing, awaken again the dying spark of her former love of liberty. What these measures may be, remains to be considered when an opportunity for action shall present itself.

I cannot say certainly that I shall visit Iowa this fall. Should developments at Chicago render it necessary, I may do so; and will advise you in time.

FROM REV. JOHN A. STEELE.

Dr. Rice secures the chair of Dr. MacMaster.

Grand View, Ill., Sept. 18, 1857.

Dear Brother:

Since returning from Chicago, I have learned some things that I ought perhaps to advise you of. I am not allowed to use the name of my informant. I saw Dr. N. L. Rice's dispatch from St. Louis. It contained the words, "Secure if possible the chair of Theology." *

I think you will find that what you did by way of compromise will embolden him to ask more. Yours truly,

JNO. A. STEELE.

Rev. Dr. Nathan L. Rice. Sketch of his life and anti-slavery and other activities. His publications and principles.

NOTE 1. This was the chair occupied by Dr. MacMaster.

NOTE 2. Dr. Rice claimed this dispatch was worded thus wholly: "you had better insist on the chair of Theology;" and he gave this in explanation and extenuation of the message,—"if my election was designed to give confidence to those who were dissatisfied, it was obviously essential that I should occupy one of the chairs in which the subject of slavery, if at all discussed, would properly come up". (Pamphlet entitled "North Western Theological Seminary", published and signed by Nathan L. Rice.)

NOTE 3. Rev. Nathan Lewis Rice, D. D., the son of Gabriel and Phebe (Garrald) Rice, was born in Garard Co. Kentucky, in 1807; entered Center College, Danville, Ky., in 1826; began, while there, the study of theology under Dr. Gideon Blackburn, then President of that Institution, and was licensed to preach at the age of twenty. He, with his brother, also

a minister of bright promise, who died at an untimely age, grew up largely under the tutelage and influence of Rev. James C. Barnes. Dr. Rice passed his next two years at Princeton Seminary, and took his first pastoral charge in 1832, at Bardstown, Ky. Here he founded a Female Seminary, and edited the "Western Herald," afterwards the "Protestant Herald",which became merged into the "Presbyterian Herald" at Louisville. In 1840, he became pastor at Paris, Ky., and while so engaged, during the next four years, had a debate with Dr. Fanning of Nashville, Tenn., and a discussion at Lexington, Ky., with Alexander Campbell, on baptism. In May 1844, he became pastor of the Central Church in Cincinnati: while there he edited the Presbyterian of the West, since become the Herald and Presbyter: also held debates with the late Archbishop Purcell, (not then Archbishop), on Catholicism; and with Rev. J. Blanchard, then pastor of the Sixth Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati, on Slavery. These discussions were listened to by large audiences, and were published and widely read: the debate on Universalism continued eight evenings; that with Dr. Alexander Campbell, held at Lexington, for eighteen days. In the debate with Dr. Blanchard, in Oct. 1845, Dr. Rice maintained the biblical sanction of the system of American Slavery. Dr. Rice, June 23, 1847, became, at the same time with Dr. Thomas, a member of the Board of Directors of the New Albany Theological Seminary. In 1853, he removed to St. Louis, Mo., to become pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, and while there edited the "St. Louis Presbyterian," and published his works on "Baptism," "The Signs of the Times," "Immortality of the Soul," and "Ten Letters on Slavery:" and he was made Moderator of the General Assembly, which met at Nashville, in 1855. In 1857, he was called to the North Church in Chicago, and while here founded and edited "The Expositor," since merged into the "Interior," and was instrumental in locating the McCormick Theological Seminary, to which he was elected professor of Theology by the General Assembly, then in session at Indianapolis in 1859. In 1861, he went to the Fifth Avenue Church, N. Y. City, (now Dr. John Hall's). In 1867, he resigned this pastorate, but after two years recuperation, became President of Westminster College, Fulton, Mo. In 1874, he was elected Professor of Theology in Danville Sem., and while holding this position died, June 11, 1877.

The foregoing is the meagre outline of a wonderfully active and industrious life. Perhaps it is proper and best here to say nothing more about Dr. Nathan L. Rice, further than to define and express his attitude as a biblical defender of the institution of slavery, by some quotations of what he saw fit to write and print in the controversy that so greatly agitated the church. He was a voluminous writer and *manent libri scripti.*

"If I buy a man, he is mine so far as his services are concerned". (Debate on Slavery held in Cincinnati with Rev. J. Blanchard, in October 1845, p. 106).

"I have proved that God did give the Jews express permission to buy and hold slaves. I am under no obligation to assign the reason why God gave the Jews permission to buy and hold slaves. I have proved the fact; and that is sufficient to prove the doctrine of the abolitionists false. Yet I will give what was, as I suppose, the reason. Doubtless he intended that in this way degraded heathen should be made acquainted with the blessed religion by which they might be made happier on earth and might secure eternal life". (Debate on Slavery).

"Many odious charges, as you know, were brought against the Apostles of Christ: and yet, though slavery existed in its most odious form throughout all parts of the Roman Empire, they never were charged with being abolitionists". (Debate on Slavery).

"In the first place, no Christian will deny that it is infinitely more important that the slaves be delivered from the bondage of sin and Satan than from temporal slavery.

"The actual tendency of abolitionism is to perpetuate, not to abolish slavery, and to aggravate all its evils; and especially to take away a preached Gospel from master and slave". (Debate with Blanchard, p. 199).

"The last warm debate on slavery in the Cincinnati Synod was on a paper introduced by Dr. MacMaster, one design of which was to condemn the action of the Assembly of 1845. We can't approve his appointment (as a Professor in New Albany Seminary), while he holds these views. We deem it, therefore, of the first importance that our Professors of Theology take *the scriptural view* of slavery". (Editorial in Pres. of the West, Cinti., Nov. 1, 1849).

"The golden rule—"Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them"—does not forbid slaveholding under all circumstances. On the contrary, there are not a few instances in which it makes men slaveholders; because by becoming such, they can greatly improve the condition of a suffering fellow creature". (Debate with Blanchard, p. 259).

The sentiment last above quoted is worthy of Geo. Whitefield who, early in Colonial days, went to England to get a permit to introduce slaves on the then free soil of Georgia.

"I should think myself highly favored," said he, "if I could purchase a good number of them, in order to make their lives comfortable, and lay a foundation for breeding up their posterity in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." (Matlack's Anti-Slavery Struggle, p. 30.)—A. A. T.

TO PROFESSOR JARED M. STONE.

Dr. Thomas goes out of his professorship, and gives the reasons. Reviews slavery's demand on the church in the North.

New Albany, Ind., 23rd Sept. 1857.

My Dear Brother Stone:

It would give me great pleasure to meet you at Dubuque; but I cannot go there. In fact, I have resolved not to attend any Synodical meeting this Fall. I have always felt that there was an appearance of self-seeking, most opposite to my habits and character, in the course of events last Fall. Two or three of us originated the project of a new Seminary. We published a Circular—prepared a Constitution—presented it personally before seven Synods. A Board of Directors met at Chicago, in accordance with that Constitution, and their first act was to elect Dr. MacMaster and me as Professors. Now God knows, and the Board of Directors know, that we had nothing to do with that election; that we used no means, direct or indirect, toward such a result. I need not assure you of this; but there are many, who do not know us, nor the facts in the case, to whom these things would wear, at least the appearance, of management to secure personal promotion. Now that opposition has been made to our election; and a course of measures has been adopted, the obvious, and in some cases avowed, design of which is to eject us from the Seminary; I cannot persuade myself that it is becoming for us to traverse the north west, attending Synods to which we do not belong, for the purpose of vindicating the act of the Board by which we were elected. I know very well that the opposition made to us is grounded on our anti-slavery principles; so that a defence of ourselves would be really a battle fought for those principles; or rather, for freedom of thought, and of speech, in the Presbyterian Church, in these Free states. Strange, passing strange, that such a statement should be true; and yet

it is true to the letter. Men are attempting to place under the ban of the church all who dare whisper a syllable against that accursed system of slavery under which our whole country groans. To use late language of the Philadelphia Presbyterian, such men are already "spotted". Still, this does not alter the case. The Synods know these facts; our whole church know it; and if there remain among us a single spark of our ancient character, the Northwest will indignantly spurn the bit—the gag. They should not need—they should not allow—any defence from us, against such charges. If they will not, of themselves, repel the pro-slavery spirit—it is not worth while to defend ourselves. If they will, it is not necessary. No! I shall studiously absent myself from every Synod; even from our own. If they think the Board did wrong in appointing me, let them say so. I shall not be distressed about it. If they confirm that appointment, my duty will be plain.

But you ought to attend your Synod; and I hope that no consideration will prevent you. The question is to be decided whether the whole future ministry of the north west, in our denomination, is to be leavened with a pro-slavery spirit, or not:—whether hostility to slavery is, or it not, to be forbidden among Presbyterians of the Free states: whether submission and subscription to slave-holding supremacy, in church and state, shall be a sine qua non in the region covered by the ordinance of 1787.

Your Synod is to vote upon that question, at Dubuque, during the first week in October. Dr. Rice will be there to assist in the decision. And the further question is, Will Brother Stone, an anti-slavery man of thirty years standing—a Professor in the State University of Republican Iowa—a full-blooded Yankee—and what is more, *a man—homo*—(how square and solid and compact and independent a look that word *Homo* has; as if it could stand by itself, and feared nobody); will *Jared M. Stone be at Thermopylae*, to make his mark upon the Persians? I shall look for an answer from Dubuque.

TO REV. JOS. G. MONFORT, D. D., EDITOR OF THE PRESBYTERIAN OF THE WEST.

Dr. Thomas agrees with Dr. MacMaster, but will not contest the issue. Finds no call to speak further. Declines Dr. Jos. G. Monfort's request that he publish something. His clear and brief review of the slavery contest in the Presbyterian Church. His finest letter on the subject. "I sucked in enmity to slavery with my mother's milk. I was taught to hate it on my father's knee".

Confidential. Pardon the seeming egotism of this hasty letter: you asked me for an expression of my own views and sentiments. But I write for you, not for the public.

New Albany, 28 Sept., 1857.

My dear Brother Monfort:

I know you will be disappointed; but I trust you will not be offended, because I send you no communication for the Synod about slavery. I must, however, be guided by my own judgment of propriety in the case; and, after all the thought which I can bestow on the subject, I am not convinced either that I have any adequate occasion for writing such an expose of my views; or that, if written, it could accomplish any valuable result; while it is certain that, under present circumstances, it would be liable to serious misconstruction. I agree, substantially, with the views presented to the Board at Chicago, by Dr. MacMaster. Had I been per-

mitted to attend, I should have offered a similar paper. But the fact has been publicly announced in the newspapers that I concur with him. To repeat the same statements over my own name would be unnecessary. Should my representation of principles be thought to vary materially from his, we should appear in an unpleasant attitude toward each other. Were I to offer what might prove a more favorable and popular view of the matter, I should seem to be indirectly soliciting the suffrages of the Synods. The truth is, I *find no call to speak now.* The Board has not asked for my views; they know them and are satisfied. The misrepresentations of the St. Louis Presbyterian, (See Aug. 27), cannot be prevented by any statements of mine. Its errors have been repeatedly corrected by the Presbyterian of the West; and the correction is denounced as dishonest concealment of my actual opinions. The Synods know, or may know, the true ground that I occupy. It was taken twenty years ago.

My views were first published in 1838, republished and widely circulated in 1843; and presented to the General Assembly in 1846, in a speech of which Dr. Hodge speaks in the Princeton Review of that year. From that ground I have never varied and never expect to. I do not mean that my interpretation of every particular Scripture, especially in my Review of Junkin, remains unaltered; but the general principles I adhere to. And when I write again on the question, I desire to write as I did before, untrammeled by its relations to any personal concernment of mine. I am fully persuaded that with the vast majority of our church, at least with the free states, there is a substantial agreement as to principles on the slavery question. The difference is as to the application of the principle. All agree that slavery is inconsistent with the Gospel, and ought to be abolished as soon as practicable. Most men will subscribe the sentiment of John Randolph, when he said "I envy not the head or the heart of the Northern man who will defend slavery on principle." But there are too many, I fear, (how many, and whether they are a majority, God only knows), who are resolved not to discuss the subject; not to aid in its discussion; not to speak of it; if possible, not to think of it. It never appears in their pulpits; is never heard in their prayers. They have persuaded themselves that they are in no way responsible for slavery; that they have no call to meddle with it; and then, it is a "vexed question"; a vexatious question; and it troubles our Israel as Elijah troubled Ahab. They regard the whole duty of Northern ministers and Northern Christians, so far as slavery is concerned, to be summarily comprehended in the one word, mum! Some there are who seem determined to oppose and denounce and destroy (ecclesiastically) every man who moves a wing, or opens the mouth, or peeps (Isa. 10:14) about it in any relation whatever.

There is another portion of our church who, fully adopting the avowed principles of the church as expressed in her various public acts, and cordially detesting slavery, wish to see these principles carried out, made efficient. They wish the Presbyterian Church to bring her mighty moral power to bear upon the evil of slavery; not fanatically; not in the way of mad denunciation of men and brethren; not by rending the body of Christ; but rationally, soberly, wisely; and yet efficiently. They desire her testimony against this enormous and rapidly growing and rampant evil to be no longer a dead letter; an idle, antiquated testimony, which no man heeds, and for the open disregard of which the church itself is unconcerned; but quick, and powerful, and sharper than a two-edged sword, as being the testimony which God himself has commissioned his church to utter in his name.

Doubtless there may be some of this latter party who are for pushing matters too fast; who do not appreciate the practical difficulties involved in the eradication of an evil which has been taking root for centuries. Perhaps a few would even rend the church, to be rid of the responsibility for slavery. But the responsibility cannot thus be got rid of, even were

both the church and the Union divided. As one people we have shared in the guilt; and come when and how it may, we shall share in the penalty.

Now, no explanations, no logical definitions, no hair-splitting distinctions are available to harmonize these parties. The difference lies in the animus: not in the understanding. The men who are for doing nothing, saying nothing, caring nothing, thinking nothing; but simply for minding their own business, as they say, will not object to your principles; they are not offended by them: they agree with you about them: it is the utterance of the principles which offends them. You may hold what views you please, if you will but cease to agitate the church: i. e., cease to preach them, teach them, write them, talk about them. (See Acts IV: 17, 18.)

For myself, I belong to the party—no! I belong to no party: I am one of those who hate slavery with a perfect hatred; I say slavery, not the slaveholder. There are legal slaveholders whom I know and love and honor, as brethren in Christ Jesus: and shall I reject those whom Christ receives? Quid bonum. What if I did? There may be men who even maintain the essential rightfulness of slavery, and simply contemn its abuses; who yet evince the sincerity of a Christian profession; just as there were (and are) men who maintained on principle the dreadful despotism of the Papacy; like Bernard, and Fenelon, and Pascal; who were not only Christians, but eminently holy men. I do not presume to sit in judgment upon men; but the system of slavery, I find no hesitation in pronouncing anti-republican, anti-scriptural, unrighteous, earthly, sensual, devilish. And I hesitate not to condemn the conduct of the slaveholder, so far as he may voluntarily, and for selfish ends sustain that relation; while I do not condemn him.

From the depths of my soul, I loathe and abhor the system which treats a man as a thing. In its essential nature, it is a standing lie, a practical lie. I sucked in enmity to slavery with my mother's milk. I was taught to hate it on my father's knee; a father who left even England that he might enjoy more freedom in these western wilds. The renewal of my heart by divine grace did but strengthen my inborn hatred of despotism. Twenty years study of the Bible has given me the stronger assurance that it condemns tyranny, and requires what is "just and equal." I wish to see our church animated by the spirit of the Bible toward slavery, not blindly denouncing men, but boldly and ardently maintaining principles. At present, it is all that the Presbyterian Church dare do, to point to the Act of 1818, and say, "We uttered our views some forty years since!" (Compare 2 Cor. VII: 11). Is this our zeal to approve ourselves clear in this matter? What we need is not nicely defined statements of principle; but love to God and man, zeal for the truth,—heart, soul. Our church, I fear, is lifted with pride of position, which she is unwilling to compromise by opening her mouth for the dumb. Her numbers, her wealth, her worldly influence, her vast extent, her rapid growth, these are her pride and boast. Will not God blast this gourd of ours? But I must stop. I set out to write a note of apology. Perhaps I have said enough to satisfy you that though all things are lawful for me, all are not expedient; among others, that of writing to the Synods about slavery.

Ever yours, THO. E. THOMAS.

TO MR. NATHANIEL FISHER, HIS FATHER-IN-LAW,

The church ready to sacrifice her principles. "The whole southern press of our church connection denounced the Seminary"

New Albany, Ind., 2 Oct., 1857.

* * * * As for our Chicago Seminary, I do not know how it will result. The question of slavery, which disturbs everything in Church and State, has connected itself with our Seminary. Dr. MacMaster and I, and

all who were chiefly concerned in originating the effort, are known as anti-slavery men. Dr. N. L. Rice, of St. Louis, a very active and leading man in the Presbyterian Church, made war upon us from the first, as endeavoring to establish an abolition school. As he edited a religious newspaper, circulating over a considerable portion of our region, he has been able to obtain a good many adherents, and quite recently, chiefly through a very wealthy man in Chicago, who is an active pro-slavery Democrat, Dr. Rice has removed from St. Louis to Chicago, where he is to be pastor of a church. But it is not the influence of Dr. Rice alone which has produced this opposition. The whole Southern press of our church connection, denounced the Seminary; and every Northern paper, but one, treated it coldly, or distrustfully. For almost a year, every influence which could be brought to bear against it has been exerted; and the aim has been to bring the Seminary, if it must prosper, under the absolute control of the General Assembly; supposing as its opponents do, that if controlled by that body, Dr. MacMaster and I would certainly be got rid of. There has been a good deal of discussion about the matter in the newspapers of the church; and great effort will be made to carry our Synods this fall, so as to secure our removal. I shall not attend any Synod, but leave them to do just what they think proper. I feel no personal anxiety in the matter. The whole opposition rests upon our opinions about slavery. I have no objection to be denounced on that ground; and if our church is willing to sacrifice her principles on that subject, I shall lament not the personal bearing of that action on myself, but the humiliation of the church herself. The Synods meet this month. The probability is that they will be divided three against four. In that case, nothing will be done at Chicago, for several years, in the way of building the Seminary.

FROM HIS MOTHER, ON HIS BIRTHDAY.

My very dear Son: Wilmington, O., Dec. 23d, 1857.

I have purposely delayed answering your kind and interesting letter till to-day; the date of which brings to my recollection an eventful period. Like Hannah of old, I had asked for a son; and promised, if my request were granted, I would train him up for the service of the sanctuary. The Lord heard my secret prayer; and granted my request; but not till he had severely tried my faith in the fiery furnace of affliction. Six weeks after being called to resign my dear Elizabeth, the Lord made up the breach by giving me a son.

On receiving the blessing, the covenant engagement was renewed, and an ebenezer of gratitude erected in the hearts of the parents. After a sincere dedication, mutually, at the family altar, he was taken to the sanctuary, and there, before and in the presence of a very large congregation, was very solemnly dedicated to the service of God, by his father, in baptism; holding him in his arms, and calling upon the congregation to witness his promise to train him in the fear of God, and devote him especially for His service, whether at home or abroad, and his willing acquiescence should he be sent to the ends of the earth. But little did we think at the time, that we should accompany him to the opposite side of the globe; and least of all, that I should be spared to witness him, for twenty years, a faithful minister of the Gospel of salvation by Jesus Christ, and congratulate him upon his entrance on his forty-sixth year. If it be the Lord's will, may you be spared to testify His goodness, and constant, loving kindness, still manifested to you, and yours; and be permitted to train some of them for similar service in the Sanctuary.

May the Lord make you eminently useful in bringing many souls to glory!!

You are aware of the destitution at Wilmington, in consequence of the death of old Father Dickey, (whose end was peace), fifty-five years a

preacher of righteousness, forty years to the people with whom he died. I suppose there will be no stated preaching in the Presbyterian Church for some time.

I hear that in Seminary matters the war is still going on; but your Father is at the helm, and will bring all out straight at the last.

My best love to Lydia and all the dear children; and accept for yourself all you wish from

YOUR MOTHER.

FROM REV. J. M. WAMPLER, ASSOCIATE EDITOR OF THE PRESBYTER.

Dr. Thomas asked to persuade Dr. MacMaster to silence.

Cincinnati, O., April 23, 1859.

I want to write a few words to you which appear to me of considerable importance. Dr. MacMaster has been here this morning, and will see you, perhaps, before this letter reaches you. We, of course, had some talk about Seminary matters. We are approaching the last struggle and crisis in this matter; and a great deal may depend upon apparently trivial matters. The signs of the times are becoming more and more favorable, as I think you will see in our next. So far, the prospect is for at triumph over Dr. Rice and those who follow his lead, but our triumph will be complete only in the elcetion of Dr. MacMaster, while at the same time, we will receive a professor second at least to none in the Presbyterian Church. If we fail in the last particular, it will be, as our former failures have been, through his own imprudence: and this is the point I write to you about. He has just been telling Dr. Monfort and myself some of the things he means to say. Even if themselves proper, if said by him in the way he usually says such things, he is *gone*, and we and right are defeated.

Having forestalled Dr. Monfort with these designs of his, of course it is too late for him to dissuade him; and as for me, I never have been his counsellor. But you and he have been mutual advisers, and I think you, if any one, can influence him.

Now I do hope, if you approve my suggestion, you will urge it upon him. Don't say you can't do anything with him: *you can*,—you can get him to do anything you insist upon, and I beg of you, do it. If you succeed, the day is ours.

NOTE. In my father's diary appears this entry: "April 27, 1859. Rev. Dr. E. D. MacMaster called and spent the day in conversation about the coming General Assembly and the Northwest Theological Seminary. Urged him not to engage in any controversy about it before the Assembly; nor even to defend himself and friends against the assaults of Dr. Rice; but to leave the whole matter, under God, in the hands of the Assembly. He seemed persuaded himself that the way was closed against his personal participation in debate."

TO REV. E. D. MACMASTER, D. D.

Dr. Thomas declines to go the Assembly on the Slavery question.

Dayton, O., 16 May, 1859.

My Dear Sir:

Having been unusually engaged during the past week, since the receipt of yours of the 19th inst., I have not been able to lay my hand on the ar-

ticle you request, until this morning. I enclose it, and hope you will preserve it, as I may some day have occasion to use it. If I find a convenient opportunity, I will send all my papers relating to this subject to Indianapolis. You may have use for them; but I hope you will not.

As to the resignation of my quasi professorship, which you refer to, I am entirely resigned to whatever Providence may permit the Assembly to do; and I think no further resignation necessary.

Our mutual friend, P. P. Lowe, Esq., has recently returned from a trip to Philadelphia. On his return he travelled with Dr. Hoge of Columbus, and had much conversation with him on seminary matters, as likely to be handled by the Assembly. Dr. Hoge expressed his intention to attend the Assembly, (as a lobby member, I suppose), and said he should favor the location of the Seminary at Chicago. He stated that $100,000 would be funded then, for the maintenance of the professors, and ten acres of land given for a site. Mr. Lowe inquired the reasons of his opposition to Indianapolis. He replied that the movement for that place was in the hands of Abolitionists. (I cannot say that he used this word). Mr. Lowe asked the Doctor on what ground he himself stood in respect to slavery. The Doctor answered that he was an enemy to slavery and slavery extension; but that he stood on the platform of 1818. Mr. Lowe replied that the Seminary men whom he (the Doctor) was opposing, occupied the same platform. That from long personal intercourse he could testify for Dr. MacMaster; and that if he and Dr. Hoge could but compare views, there would be found no real difference as far as slavery is concerned. Mr. Lowe tells me that Dr. Hoge seemed impressed with the conversation; and expressed the opinion that if Dr. Hoge could be conversed with at Indianapolis, his influence might be thrown into the other scale. What there may be in this, I cannot say. As Dr. Rice and Dr. Hoge were associated in the Cincinnati enterprise, it is not strange that they should sympathize now; and it is reasonable to believe that Dr. Hoge, as an old pioneer in the West, will exert some influence over the members of the Assembly.

I should be happy to meet you at Indianapolis, during the sessions of the Assembly; but in the present posture of affairs, I cannot do so. Remembering that *the Lord reigneth*,—I shall quietly wait the issue.

Ever respectfully and affectionately

Yours in Christian bonds,

THO. E. THOMAS.

V

Great gathering in Indianapolis at the Assembly of '59 of pro-slavery men and "Gradualists". Who was there: what was done. Its chairman and ruling spirits, Rice, Palmer, Thornwell, Samuel R. Wilson, Plummer, Vandyke and D. X. Junkin. They tell Dr. MacMaster if he speaks he "commits ecclesiastical suicide". His great speech. The last and final anti-slavery word in the church, until the war. Description of him speaking. His "lost sixthly" and Dr. Rice's ridicule. Dr. MacMaster is cast out; Dr. N. L. Rice is put in his place.

This "issue", which my father thus awaited at home, no one appears to have made any special preparation for, except Dr. MacMaster and Dr. N. L. Rice. As in the attempt to raise funds for endowment in 1857, so now, to the former the times were most unpropitious; for this year may not unfairly be said to mark a low ebb-point, unknown in former or later years, of courage and manliness in Northern anti-slavery sentiment. The Assembly met May 20, 1859, at Indianapolis; and had in attendance more than any ordinary representation, both in numbers and ability of the leading pro-slavery men in the Presbyterian Church from both the North and South.

The Rev. Dr. Wm. L. Breckenridge of Kentucky was Moderator. A few years before, he with Dr. E. P. Humphrey, had manfully defended the views of Dr. MacMaster on the subject of slavery against the attacks of Dr. N. L. Rice; but now he "saw things through a Kentucky mist." Nothing could be more trying than the position of border state men, who, because of their character and consciences, were of necessity genuine opponents of slavery. Later on they rose admirably to the occasion, and not only supported the government, but were foremost in bringing about the extermination of slavery when opportunity offered. But in 1859, this worthy class, of whom Dr. Wm. L. Breckenridge was a good type, stood convinced that the duty of the church on this subject then, "was summarily comprehended by the word mum."

The opening sermon before the Assembly was by Dr. N. L. Rice.

The chairman of the most important committee—Bills and Overtures—was Dr. Rice. The chairman of the committee on Theological Seminaries was Dr. B. M. Palmer, of New Orleans, afterward notorious for his "Vindication of Secession and the South," who said "The providential trust of the Southern people is to conserve and perpetuate the institution of slavery as now existing." * The ruling spirit in this Assembly, and probably its ablest delegate, was Dr. Thornwell, a professor in the Theological Seminary of Columbia, S. C., who said the government must organize labor; and "the only way in which it can be done, as a permanent arrangement, is by converting the laborer into capital; that is, by giving the employer a right of property in the labor employed; in other words, by slavery." So much for the humanitarianism and political economy of this distinguished divine!

Following the lead of and supporting these men, among the delegates, were Dr. S. R. Wilson of Cincinnati;* Dr. James H. Brooks, of St. Louis; Dr. Hoge, of Columbus, O.; Dr. Plummer; Dr. H. J. Vandyke; Rev. Mr. Lourie, and other well-known pro-slavery Presbyterian ministers. Dr. Geo. Junkin's brother was there—Dr. D. X. Junkin—who thought in 1874 that abolitionism had reached its height in 1845. Prof. D. H. Hill,* then an elder in the Presbyterian Church and teacher in a college in North Carolina, and afterwards the left arm of Gen. Lee in the army of Northern Virginia, was there. Of him and such as he, this was the last Northern raid till Gettysburgh.

Yet, most of these men, and their following, even at this time, could with difficulty be induced to consent to exclude Dr. MacMaster from the Seminary which he had labored so long and faithfully to build up. Reading the utterances of his ministerial career, they "could find no evil in him." Dr. J. G. Monfort of the "*Herald and Presbyter*," of Cincinnati, was the most active of the friends of Dr. MacMaster upon the floor of the Assembly; and he has told me that Dr. Thornwell opposed the removal of Dr. MacMaster from his old Professorship. Did he feel that to

* "The South: Her Peril and Her Duty." A Thanksgiving Day Sermon —Nov. 29, 1860.

* Rev. Dr. S. R. Wilson published at Cincinnati a political sermon with this motto: "Blot out the Stars and leave the Stripes. Why?" He also wrote in 1866 the Louisville "Declaration and Testimony."

* Two years before he had published a school text book, called "Elements of Algebra," in which appears this problem: "The field of battle at Buena Vista is six and one-half miles from Saltillo. Two Indiana volunteers ran away from the field of battle at the same time: one ran half a mile per hour faster than the other, and reached Saltillo five minutes and fifty-four and six-elevenths seconds sooner than the other. Required their respective rates of travel."

do so was unchivalrous? Or at the aggressions of the slave power across the line, of which this transaction was a fair sample, although of small importance in itself, did he have in his ears, as a low and distant hum, the rising indignation of the North? This must have two years yet to gather, then it was heard around the world! Hon. Jesse L. Williams, of Ft. Wayne, was, among the delegates, a warm friend of Dr. MacMaster, and he and his colleagues had reason to believe that Dr. Rice's schemes would yet fail, provided Dr. MacMaster could be induced to keep still. But he had not gone to Indianapolis to keep still, and no persuasions could move him: he had gone there to "bear a testimony" against "a pusillanimity which had never yet failed to yield all which impudence demanded of it;" to ask "when would the Northwest, and the church and the nation cease to be a humiliating and deplorable spectacle, but awaken as a strong man from sleep, and recover herself from the Circean cup of the Pro-slavery Power, in which it had been so long held;" to ask, "the defenders of slavery if they were so ignorant as to think that a system such as that could be established in this day when, throughout the whole world, all the old, long-established systems of robbery and oppression were crumbling in the dust;" and this he did in a speech, the like of which is not often heard in any Assembly. When he had finished, all possibility of his own election had vanished. The vote was taken, and next morning my father, at Dayton, made the following entry in his Diary:

"May 30, 1859. Learned from the Cincinnati Gazette to-day that Dr. Rice is elected Professor of Theology in Northwestern Theological Seminary by 314 votes; Dr. MacMaster receiving only 45, and scattering nine. A wonderful triumph of ambition, injustice, dishonesty and pro-slaveryism! Our church is sold to the South. But God reigns and will order all things well. This is a sad and humiliating termination of all our toils and cares for a Northwest Seminary in which a rational but decided anti-slavery tone might be imparted to the rising ministry of the country."

No one disputed the ability of Dr. MacMaster's speech, but it was not listened to. The address, prepared with elaborate care, was read from MS. A reporter for a Cincinnati paper, with the Doctor's consent, took the sheets as he laid them down, during the delivery; but his train hour arriving, the reporter seized what he could lay hands on, and took himself off. Soon Dr. MacMaster was broken off in discourse, and looking for some time for the missing sheets, exclaimed in child-like despair to those about him "Where is my Sixthly? Who has taken my Sixthly?" Dr. Rice and his friends took up the cry; and, moving about on the floor of the Assembly asked "Who of you has Dr. MacMaster's Sixthly?" Because of his love of accuracy, of proportion, of method and moderation, Dr. MacM. always preferred to speak from his prepared and written page; but he was a conversationalist of brilliant power; and, when aroused, was an extempore preacher such as any man in a lifetime is not often permitted to

hear. I well remember as a little boy,—though I could not understand,—his occasional sermons in the Bank Street Church in New Albany; the hushed and intent audience, the striking figure of the speaker, over six feet high and with white, silky hair; the measured, frugal use of well chosen words in long, involved sentences; which wandered out, and came back again, and finally ended like a trip-hammer, in something which startled those about me, and made them exchange looks of pleasure and surprise. Finding his MS. gone, the Doctor turned upon his audience, and gave them a full equivalent for his missing pages. I have heard of many minor things in this speech,—among them his promise "to meet Thornwell and Palmer at Philippi," referred to afterward in my father's letter of June 12, 1866,—none of which appear in its printed copy; and I have supposed these to have been uttered in lieu of his lost "Sixthly."

Dr. Rice and his friends claimed that "Hanover College was a failure; and there was no wonder if this Seminary should have been likewise." Dr. R. admitted on the floor of the Assembly that he had written editorially in his St. Louis paper; "It is evidently the design of Drs. MacMaster and Thomas to establish an Abolition Institution in the Northwest, and train up young men to divide the church." The speech of Dr. Rice, in reply to Dr. MacMaster, was not reported stenographically; but, he charged Dr. M. with obtruding upon the Assembly his personal ambitions; ridiculed and defied him; told him to print his speech; to double the edition, and he would pay half of the expense.

With Dr. Rice, the Assembly elected to fill the other Professorships, Dr. Willis Lord, Dr. L. J. Halsey and Dr. W. M. Scott, son-in-law of Dr. Chas. Hodge. They were, in fact, named by Dr. Rice, and held his views regarding slavery; but were men of milder type. Later on, (June 12, 1866), my father wrote to Dr. MacMaster that "he would find a valuable body of co-laborers in Drs. Halsey, Lord and Elliott," the latter of whom had taken the place of Dr. W. M. Scott.

I have sought unsuccessfully to obtain the names of the forty-five delegates who voted for Dr. MacMaster: no son will ever be ashamed to find his father's name upon that list. I append the final page of Dr. MacMaster's printed speech.—A. A. T.

"It is with extreme reluctance and profound regret, that I bring out, in the form I here do, opinions, and sentiments, and practices, on this subject of slavery, which I think are not honorable to the Church. I have known these things, as from time to time, through ten years past, they have come to light, with other things of like bearing of earlier date. I have known these things, and have kept silence. I have kept silence, because I desired peace,—my own peace,—I hope, still more the peace of the Church. I have kept silence, because I have always deprecated violent agitation over particular forms of evil, which is so apt to run into exaggerations and extremes, damaging alike to personal character and to the best interests of truth and righteousness. I have kept silence, because I

have no aptitudes and no taste for such conflicts. I have kept silence, because I have known something of the manifold complications and difficulties of this whole problem of slavery and the slave population, and because it has long been my settled conviction, that men living in the midst of slavery, and to whom immediately and chiefly it belongs, alone are competent to deal wisely with it, and to devise and execute measures for abating its evils, and effecting ultimately its abolition. Gladly would I have continued to be silent, as I have been habitually silent concerning the relations of the Church to the whole subject.

But when the minions of that Pro-Slavery Power which has, through a long series of years, so prostituted and demoralized the administration of our noble political system, to the protection, perpetuation, and extension of slavery, obtrude themselves into our heritage in these free states, and, on our own free soil, professedly in the interest of slavery, impudently interfere with us when quietly prosecuting, upon our own field, the work of the Church, and wrest from us an institution established for its service, then, I say, that the question is no longer about the slavery of the negroes, but whether we ourselves shall be brought in bondage to this impudent and odious domination. Is Liberty, born of Christianity, baptized in the blood of our fathers, rocked in the cradle of Presbyterianism, amidst the shock of arms in the battles of the old Dutch Republic and on the brave old hills of Scotland, and standing up here, so proudly in the fullness of its strength, in this great land, the land of the free and the home of the brave, is Liberty to perish at last here among American Presbyterians? This is the question which I ask all right-hearted Presbyterians to ponder well, to lay up in their hearts, and to make the subject of their meditations.

"No: Liberty shall not so perish. Truth and righteousness shall not be so borne down, and their voice smothered. This great wrong against the Church herself shall not be perpetrated for sake of slavery, so utterly heterogeneous and alien to our principles, our character, and our spirit, as a people. Let not the enemies of the Presbyterian Church reproach her. Let not the uncircumcised in heart rejoice over her. It may be she sleeps: but her heart waketh. Soon she will hear the voice of her Lord, touching this anomalous and heterogeneous thing, and will arise to vindicate her honor, to reiterate her ancient testimonies, and to renew her labors, to correct the errors of former times, and as speedily as possible to efface this blot on our holy religion, and to obtain the complete abolition of slavery throughout Christendom, and if possible throughout the world."

Entries in Dr. Thomas's diary, when John Brown was hung. Ditto, when the flag came down on Fort Sumpter.

Friday, Dec. 2, 1859. "Ossawatomie Brown (John), hanged to-day in Virginia, as a traitor, for his mad inroad at Harper's Ferry. A stern Cromwellian fanatic: but probably a much better man than those who execute him. The Lord reigneth: let the earth rejoice"!

Tuesday, Dec. 27, 1859. "Dr. E. D. MacMaster called and spent the day. Talked over the propriety of establishing a monthly magazine of anti-slavery character."

"20 Dec., 1860, South Carolina seceded".

Jany. 10, 1861. "The State of Mississippi yesterday seceded from the Union, by 32 to 15 votes in the Convention. Yesterday, also, THE FIRST GUN FIRED *in the coming Civil War!* The Charleston forts fired on the U. S. Steamer, Star of the West, sent to re-enforce Maj. Anderson at Ft. Sumpter.

May God defend the right, and deliver the oppressed!"

Ap. 13. To-day's Gazette informs us that at 4 a. m. on yesterday, Friday, April 12, the Rebels of South Carolina, after demanding the sur-

render of Fort Sumpter, OPENED FIRE; and so has begun the long-expected WAR between our Government, and the rebels of the slave-holding South. May a just God, the righteous Judge, decide the contest; giving deliverance to the oppressed slaves, whose cry has so long ascended to heaven!

FROM REV. E. D. MACMASTER, D. D.

Dr. MacMaster in retirement. His views as "a looker-on in Venice", regarding the intentions, hopes and fate of the slave power.

Poland, Ohio, January 1st, 1861.

Rev. and dear Sir:

It is the first day of the new year. Although not much given to observe "days", I avail myself of the occasion to offer to you, your wife, and your daughters, and your sons, my salutations, and my best wishes that it may be to you a happy year. I add; not, like a Spaniard, the wish that you may live a thousand years;—for who would live alway?—but my prayer that you may live as many years as you desire, and that they may be to you, and all yours, happy years.

I remember with much interest the many pleasant hours I spent with you in the days of years now gone by,—hours from which I had both enjoyment and profit. The current events of the present times minister subjects of remark, and food for reflection; and the shadows cast before of coming events give occasion for expectation. Of the latter, the most notable are the prospective issue of the strange revolution still in progress in "the Flowery Land"—the prospective dissolution of "the Sick Man",—and the prospective disintegration of that ugly conglomerate, the Hapsburgh horn of the ugly "beast" which the Seer of Patmos saw arising out of the abyss. Of the former the most remarkable are, the stripping of poor old Pio Nono of his ancient patrimony, and the consolidation of the little States of that renowned Peninsula, so long rent by their own internal distractions, in one Italian nationality, and under institutions as liberal as they are yet able to bear; and the violent talk of our own confederacy, in the interest of slavery propagandism. I say the talk of disruption; for I am not yet clear that anything more is meant than talk, and whatever talk may be able to extort from a pusillanimity which has never yet failed to yield all which impudence has demanded of it.

I have supposed, indeed, for many years that there are in the South traitors who, seeing their own section, under the blight of slavery, more and more continually overshadowed by the Free States of the North, if they thought it could be done, would be willing, and more than willing, to carry off from the present Union as many as they can of the Slave States, and, adding by conquest to these Cuba and the weak and barbarous States of Mexico and of Central America, to form on the sunny shores of the Gulf a new Confederacy over which they might bear rule. They would thus have a society after their own heart; black slaves for the "mud-sills;" above these a class of "poor whites" for artizans and shop-keepers, and over all themselves as an aristocracy, owning the land, and, as lords of the domain, holding all political power.

The only question is, whether these men be so ignorant as to think that a system such as that can be established in this day when, throughout the whole world, all the old and long-established systems of robbery and oppression are crumbling into dust. I have been afraid not only of the ring-streaked and speckled "Democracy" but of the old chronic spirit of compromise, of which that respectable, staid, intelligent, conservative, moral, pious body, the old lady Whiggery, some years ago died, that it might be

revived in the Republican body. Certainly a very fit representative of the spirit, and a very fit administrator *de bonis non* upon the effects of that very respectable defunct old lady was found in that very grave, serious-minded, earnest, staunch-principled, pure, and godly person, the Hon. Tom. Corwin.

Perhaps that danger is past. Some inconvenience, possibly some disturbance of public order, may arise from the wicked weakness, or the weak wickedness, of the poor "Old Public Functionary," who makes it so hard a trial for us to obey the Divine precept, "Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people." Perhaps we may find forgiveness of our offenses in the plea, "I wist not that *he* was the Ruler." My fears for the country do not arise from the violent talk of the traitors in the South, but from the remembrance that God is just. Nearly twelve years ago, in reference to the then recent spoliation of abject Mexico in the interest of slavery-propagandism, I remember to have said and printed these words: "If there be a God in the heavens that judgeth among the nations, I think that this nation, however it may for the time have seemed to triumph in the wrong, has an unsettled case in controversy, upon which judgment is yet to be rendered by the righteous Judge of all the earth. He looked for judgment, but, lo, blood! for righteousness, but, lo, the cry of the oppressed!" I think I afterwards repeated these words in your pulpit. In having given utterance to them I claim no prophetic foresight. The end was open, even from the beginning, to the vision of all who had eyes to see. Perhaps the day of reckoning is already come. I pray God to give our country repentance for its sins, and to send to it a good deliverance out of all its troubles.

I observe these events, my dear sir, only as "a looker-on in Venice," from the streets, into which I have been thrust out, for the offense of having said such things as I here recite. I am not, however, an indifferent spectator of these events. I feel a deep interest in the race to which I belong; a deep interest especially in my country; above all, a deep interest in the Kingdom of God, the Church of our Lord, which He bought with His own blood.

As to myself, from whom, and of whom, your goodness has induced you, from time to time, to ask that you might hear, I am at present enjoying the hospitalities of my brother's house. Just now I am, with him, in the midst of the "Metaphysics", so called, of Sir William Hamilton, the Lectures published the year before the last, but which I have not till now found time to read.

If I be not mistaken, the Scotch Knight has been overrated. Perhaps I may rank him higher, when I shall have read him through to the end. So far as I have gone, he seems to me to have been a man of more reading than reflection, of more memory than judgment, of more dogmatism than discrimination. I will not add that he seems to me to have been a man of more phantasy than philosophy; for much of his writings show him to have been a very able man; and his "philosophy of the conditioned", developed in these "Discourses", though even that needs to be set in a clearer light, establishes his claim to have been a profound thinker on subjects on which he had fully and maturely thought. For his philosophic temper and manners it is impossible to have a very high respect. To Reid, whom he treats with respect, he certainly is not just. His uniform treatment of Brown; who, though perhaps not a very profound philosopher, was a man of genius, of brilliant gifts, and of great personal amiability; leads one to suspect that such spleen has its origin in some personal pique. In listening to the burly and brusque knight, one cannot but think, how different the manner of the man from that of the gentlemanly Dugald Stewart!

I expect, when the Spring opens, to turn myself, for a few weeks, perhaps a few months, to secular employment. I shall do this, not that I like it. But I think it to be necessary to seek for the present means of

subsistence for myself and those dependent on me, and for the future some provision, that, if God spare my life, I shall not, when I am old, be dependent for my bread on the charity of the world, which, it is said, is cold; nor on the charity of the church by whose very faithful love I have in times past been so greatly enriched. This statement is due to the kindness which has prompted your inquiries. In respect to my occupation for the future, I am not without some plans. But as the song runs, "The best-laid schemes o' mice an' men gang aft a gley;" so it is not worth while to say much at present about these plans. This, however, I may say, that it is no part of my plans to go into a hole of the rocks, or a cave of the earth, in a grand disgust of the world, whether the world without the church, or the world within the church.

FROM REV. E. D. MACMASTER, D. D.

His retirement: intentions: opinion of Dr. Chas. Hodge.

My dear Brother: Poland, Ohio, January 15th, 1861.

Your obliging favor of the 8th instant has been duly received; and I very cordially reciprocate its fraternal sentiments.

The receipt of your letter ought to have been sooner acknowledged; but it came to me in the midst of the services of the communion in my brother's church, the larger share of which he had devolved on me. I might, indeed, have found time to write; but the truth is, I had not anything I cared to say on the only point which seemed to require an immediate reply.

It was the latter part of my letter which was uppermost in my mind, when I made the suggestion I did concerning it; what goes before being regarded as a kind of tug to lug it in. Expecting when the spring opens, to go out into a desert place, to build there a little cottage, a kind of lodging-place in the wilderness of a wayfaring man, under the cover of which I might have a place where to lay my head, and to plant corn, that I might have bread to eat, I hesitated between the feeling that I ought perhaps to give some account of myself, such as every man owes to his brethren, on the one hand, and, on the other, an unwillingness to obtrude myself and my private affairs on a community, my claims on whose attention might be questionable. But I despise little devices, to do little things by indirection; and this is a little thing for me to be writing letter after letter about. I would rather it should not be thought, either that I have willingly abandoned my duty, or that, having been violently thrust out by the elders, and chief priests, and scribes, I have gone away to pout, like a petulant child in the sulks, or to growl like a dog in his kennel with a sore head. But, if you have not sent my letter to the Presbyter, it may be better to let the thing drop: if you have already sent it, it is no matter. I beg you to pardon this long talk *de me ipsomet*. I shall try not to err again in the same way.

As to the "plans" of which you inquire, I meant just what I said: that their execution is so uncertain that it is not worth

while to say much about them. There are some studies which I desire to prosecute. There are, too, some topics of theology, which, it has seemed to me, might be stated more satisfactorily than is done in the books. A history of the Old Testament Church, for which there are materials in various works, but not anywhere reduced to proper form, has seemed to me to be a desideratum. I think, too, that there is a present call for a historical review of the past devious course, and present dubious position of the Presbyterian Church, with past efforts and prospective results, in relation to slavery; and I acknowledge I am in pain to be delivered of the conception. Our rulers need to have some seasonable words spoken into their ears: the more honest part of our ministers and people to have their perplexities solved, and the things within them which are ready to die strengthened. Perhaps this is a time when men will have an ear to hear. But whether I shall be able to say what ought to be said, and find money enough to print it, I am not certain. And as to the other matters, of more general and permanent interest, whether I shall be able to do anything in them is doubtful.

I was much interested in the account of your Fast day exercise. I hope the word did the hearers good as it doeth the upright in heart. There was some holding forth of the word in this place also, and I presume in many other places, the same day. I hope the fast of the pious Saint James has not been in vain. Will not your Dayton people publish your sermon? It is a shame, if they do not. I remember very well your two sermons in 1847, which I read at the time with care and much interest. I ought to have acknowledged the receipt of your sermon on the death of Dr. Haines, which I read with interest, for sake of the subject and for the author's sake.

You ask what I think of Dr. Hodge's article on the state of the country. I think it is, like other articles gotten up by the same cook, a hodge-podge. In what he says of the main causes and the objects of the treason, there is much truth which it may be well for those who sympathize with and half justify the treason to hear. But, in his concessions, expositions, and proposed compromises, there is an assumption of the same false definitions of slavery which has filled all his articles on the subject with confused talk, perplexing the minds of the simple, and the same old leaven of a temporizing spirit, which has so extensively and so long leavened the mass of the body, of which he is so true a representative.

Another article showing this, and the large share it has had in corrupting the mind and heart of the church and country and producing the present troubles, would be eminently proper to the occasion. I shall include this in my tractate, if I print anything on the subject. I prefer, however, that at present nothing be said of this. But, in the deliverance of our beloved brother

Charles, there are some things which our Southern brethren will think hard to be understood: for example, when he says that, till lately the advocate of disunion would have been put into the same category with Benedict Arnold, and he doubts not that is the place which history will assign to all such;—a saying which, however, is very characteristically taken back in an erratum at the end of the Number. That it got utterance by brother Charles is among the signs that the world moves.

Sketch of his life. His great influence and position in the church and on the slavery controversy. "To Drs. Junkin and Rice and others upholding the cause of slavery, he brought a watchful and unceasing aid, comfort and support." How, and Why? Miami student at Princeton Seminary writes on the subject.

Note. Rev. Dr. Charles Hodge. This is probably the severest criticism of Dr. Charles Hodge by any of his cotemporaries; and is one that a careful examination of his record shows to have been wholly deserved. At any rate, it must go as the opinion of a man thoroughly competent to express an opinion; for there is reason to believe that Dr. MacMaster had watched Dr. Hodge's position and influence in the slavery contest in the Presbyterian Church in the West, more closely than Dr. Hodge had himself.

The lovable qualities of his character, and the fascination for my father of his winning personality, are well told by Dr. Thomas in his letter from the General Assembly of Philadelphia, June 2d, 1846: that impression seems never to have been affected; nor could he willingly admit about Dr. Hodge what Dr. MacMaster states in this letter.

The Rev. Charles Hodge, D. D., LL. D., was born in Philadelphia in 1797, and died at Princeton in 1878. His father was of Scotch-Irish descent, a graduate of Princeton College, was a surgeon in the Revolutionary army, and afterward practiced medicine in Philadelphia: his mother, of French-Hugenot descent, was born and passed her early life in Boston. Charles Hodge was graduated at Princeton College, and, in 1816 entered the Theological Seminary there, where he seems to have imbibed the biblical view of slavery taught by Dr. Samuel Miller: he certainly never learned such a lesson of Dr. Ashbel Green, then President of Princeton College. In 1822, Charles Hodge was elected Professor in Princeton Theological Seminary, where he maintained himself with growing and distinguished honor and usefulness for over fifty years. In 1825, he established the Biblical Repertory, which, assisted chiefly by other Princeton professors, he continued to edit and conduct until his death; its early design being "to assist ministers and laymen in the criticism and interpreta-

tion of the Bible". Its name was afterwards changed to the "Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review", by which latter name it has since been known. In such a position, supported and adorned by all the graces of manner and character and high scholarship, and a marvelous industry; and, in large part, through this Review, Charles Hodge and his associates such as the Alexanders and others of like attainments, made the Princeton influence dominant in the Old School branch of the Presbyterian Church in the United States—surely no contemporary so long exerted an equal influence in any other church, at home or abroad.

In 1836, from the pen of Dr. Charles Hodge, in the Princeton Review, appeared an article asserting the biblical sanction of slavery, in these words:

"It is on all hands acknowledged that at the time of the advent of Jesus Christ, slavery in its worst forms prevailed over the whole world. The Saviour found it around him in Judea: the apostles met with it in Asia, Greece and Italy. How did they treat it? Not by the denunciation of slaveholding as necessarily and universally sinful. * * * * The subject is hardly alluded to by Christ in any of his personal instructions. * * * * The assumption that slaveholding is itself, a crime, is not only an error, but an error fraught with the worst of consequences".

No one can briefly tell or easily exaggerate the harm that such utterance from such a quarter exerted in the Presbyterian Church at that day, and during the period of a whole generation. This doctrine was taught to students in Princeton Seminary, who became its missionaries throughout the land, north and south. It was, Dr. Hodge afterwards stated, "inculcated by southern men all over the South";* was eagerly welcomed by all pro-slavery men, for here was at once a sedative to their consciences, and an argument and an authority of which they stood greatly in need. This quotation, as an authority, appears over and over again in the literature of the slavery controversy in the church, and was always both text and evidence with the northern defenders of slavery, like Drs. Junkin and Rice. Nor was the harm confined within the limits of the church. When the brutal supporters of Slavery in St. Louis assembled there in public meeting to stifle free speech and encourage a mob which murdered Lovejoy, they had in their mouths the words of Rev. Dr. Charles Hodge, and,

"RESOLVED, that the Sacred writings furnish abundant evidence of the existence of slavery from the earliest periods. The patriarchs possessed slaves: our Savior recognized the relation between master and slave, and deprecated it not; hence, we know he did not condemn that relation; on the contrary, His disciples, in all countries, designated their respective duties to each other; therefore

"RESOLVED, that we consider slavery, as it exists now in the United States, as sanctioned by the Sacred Scriptures".

* Letter of Chas. Hodge to Dr. J. C.. Bachus, p. 464 of Life of Dr. C. Hodge, by his son.

After this publication by Dr. Charles Hodge, the only genuine effort to remove slavery by an amendment to the constitution of any southern state, was made by the Emancipationists of Kentucky in 1849, which movement, it is fair to say, had Dr. Hodge's active and hearty support. The Rev. R. J. Breckenridge, who led in this attempt, in a printed address to the people there before its disastrous failure, said; "The burden of the disquisitions of those who wished to foster, enlarge and perpetuate slavery in Kentucky, was the divine origin of the right of property in man, the marked approval of slavery by Christ and His Apostles", etc. Yet Dr. Hodge "held that slavery was a great evil, and ought to be somehow and sometime brought to an end." * and he wanted it to go by natural and peaceful modes of death". These he defined as, "(1) the increase of the slave population until it reached the point of being unproductive; and (2) the gradual elevation of the slaves in knowledge, virtue and property to the point at which it would be no longer desirable and possible to keep them in bondage." *

Dr. Hodge idealized slavery and held that its ordinary incidents were abuses which should be corrected. His son claims Dr. Hodge's view and position on slavery was substantially that of Dr. Robert J. Breckenridge. But the latter had written.

"Out upon such folly! the man who cannot see that American slavery, as it exists among us, is founded on the principle of taking by force that which is another's, has simply no moral sense".

In 1843, Dr. Wm. Cunningham, afterwards Principal of the New College, Edinburgh, visited the United States at the head of a new delegation of the Free Church of Scotland. The abolitionists had great hopes of good from this visit, relying on his well-known love of freedom. Dr. Hodge used all his arts to disappoint all such hope, and with a measure of success. On his return, Dr. C. wrote to him (Ibid, p. 357) from Edinburgh: "I succeeded in preventing our Assembly from doing anything on the subject of slavery, except appointing a committee to consider it, and I shall do what I can to get them to do as little as possible". (p. 357). But it was hard to hold such a man long in the sophistical meshes which Dr. Hodge had woven about him; and later, he writes: "I am not satisfied of the soundness of some of the principles in your article on Abolitionism in the Repertory. I cannot see how any human being can justly and validly lose his own personal, natural right to control his time and labor, unless the element either of his own consent or of penal infliction for a crime proven be brought in", (p. 361).

What wonder that Dr. Cunningham filed his protest against

* Life by his son, p. 356.

* Essays and Reviews by Dr. C. Hodge, pp. 505-6.

the doctrine here taught by his friend! How can anyone read pages 558 et seq., of this article on Abolitionism * without realizing that Dr. Hodge is here defending slavery on principle,* and adroitly whittling away the foundation of any such possible thing as human rights!

From 1836 until after 1860, Dr. Hodge brought to the ministers of his church in the West and South who were upholding the cause of slavery, a watchful and unceasing aid, comfort and support. One may fairly question whether there are many who can now read Dr. Geo. Junkin's biblical defence of slavery without some sense of shame. It met Dr. Hodge's warmest approval; and, with its caustic "Review" by Dr. Thomas, were the publications which elicited the article on Abolitionism in the Princeton Review. One of the outcomes of the anti-slavery activity set on foot by Dr. Bishop, at Oxford, O., was the final expulsion from the New School branch of the Presbyterian Church of the Rev. Wm. Graham; for the New School people would not endure on this subject what was robust orthodoxy in the Old School branch. Graham published in his defence, a pamphlet called "The Contrast; or the Bible and Abolitionism"; and this publication and that of Dr. Geo. Junkin were noticed in the Princeton Review, (p. 310, vol. 20), by Dr. Hodge, as follows:

"These two pamphlets, refuting the unscriptural arguments of the Abolitionists, derive a singular interest from their origin. The substance of both was pronounced in ecclesiastical bodies, to-wit, the Old School and New School Synods of Cincinnati; both were produced in a State which is exempt from the ills of slavery; and both were written by men who are natives of free States. We will add, that both are in a degree interesting and cogent. Mr. Graham's examination of the scriptural passages touching slavery is cool, patient, and clear from all extraneous matter. His argument is so purely a reiteration of undeniable scripture statement, that we hold it to be unanswerable. Dr. Junkin's discourse takes a wider range, and, as founded on the same plain Scriptures, is in like manner a triumphant vindication of Christian rights, in this matter. Much of the fanaticism of our age is manifested in seeking to be holier than the law of God: hence the remarkable concurrence in argument and spirit, of the extreme polemics, on Oaths, on Total Abstinence, on War and Peace, and on Slavery. *If slavery is ever to be abolished, it must be by means less desperate, than the attempt to prove that it was condemned by the inspired writers.*"

Rev. Dr. Hodge noted and approved the taking possession of the Northwestern Theological Seminary by the pro-slavery men, one of whom was his own son-in-law, and he was, according to the statement of his son and biographer, active and influential in bringing about the election to a professorship in Princeton Seminary, by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in 1860,

* See Princeton Review, Vol. 20 p. 558 et seq., 1844.

* "I envy neither the head nor the heart of that Northern man who will defend slavery on principle",—John Randolph.

of a man* who avowed that "the providential trust of the Southern people was to conserve and perpetuate the institution of slavery as now existing". To do justice to Dr. Chas. Hodge, as well as to further substantiate some of the statements above made, may require an examination, which space and time do not now permit, into the teaching of some of the other professors of Princeton Seminary on the subject of slavery. The first professor in this institution was Dr. Archibald Alexander, whose biography, published in 1855, was so well and beautifully written by his son, that it has ever since been a Presbyterian classic. Its only reference to slavery occurs on pp. 425-6, (condensed edition) where is given Dr. Alexander's letter to Rev. Wm. S. Plummer, written in 1830. The letter of enquiry is not given, but Dr. A's answer says: * * "The subject on which you ask advice is both delicate and difficult. * * If you wish for my opinion as to how you may best promote the welfare of those whom Providence has committed to your care, and for whom you must give an account, I would say, that you can best promote their happiness *by keeping them in your possession*, and instructing them in the Christian religion". So here in 1830, in reply to a question as to duty, by a minister, who, evidently, was excusably involved, concerned and conscience-stricken, Dr. Archibald Alexander *advises against manumission*, and gives no hint of any duty in that direction.

Among the Elders in the church at Oxford, O. was Benj. C. Swan, whose name often appears signed to calls for anti-slavery movements thereabouts. His son is the Rev. Dr. B. C. Swan, who married the daughter of Prof. Jared M. Stone, and who now lives at Metropolis, Illinois: his cousin was Rev. Geo. W. Swan, who was born and raised in Tennessee, graduated at Miami University in 1839, completed his three years course at Princeton in 1842, and died, I think, when chaplain in the navy. These men were friends of my father's early anti-slavery days; and the elder Mr. Swan handed him the following letter, which I find preserved upon his files.

My dear Cousin: Princeton Seminary, Jany. 12, 1830.

"I am well pleased with the Seminary and with all the Professors here; have never been so far off from any of my friends before, but I am as kindly treated by the students and Professors as any here. Dr. Alexander is truly a great man. He has more strength of intellect than any man I ever saw in my life. I have never been with a man whose turn of mind pleased me so well. He says nothing which he has not the strongest arguments to substantiate. I am, in a word, pleased with all the Professors in the Seminary. There is a Theological Society connected with it, in which we debate all subjects connected with theology. Our subject last night was psalmody.

Last week, those students who are appointed to present questions to the Society, introduced three questions upon slavery, and no others. Dr. Miller was in the chair; he told them that he hoped they would not take

* Rev. Dr. B. M. Palmer of New Orleans.

either of them, for they were not the right kind for the Society. The students were all of the same opinion, with the exception of two or three. You may therefore guess what became of the questions. Abolitionism does not even breathe here, let alone flourish. Two or three weeks since we had up the following question. Ought preachers to preach against those things which are supported by the government, though they be sinful and contrary to the Bible? Dr. Miller, (for he was in the chair,) decided that they should preach against them, but with caution. Those students who offered the questions upon slavery thought that they had the Doctor fast: they then asked him what they should do in reference to slavery; should they not preach against it? I thought that the Doctor was in a difficulty myself, but he got out of the difficulty very easily; and I suppose that you will be surprised when I tell you how he got out of it. He said that *the principle of slavery was not contrary to the Bible*, and therefore they should not preach against it, if they were to go to the South. This was very unsatisfactory to me. There is no proposition more self-evident to me than that one man shall not have the labor of another for nothing".

Your friend and cousin,

GEORGE W. SWAN.

Dr. Charles Hodge took pleasure in claiming to be a Republican in politics; he voted for Fremont in 1856 and each time for Lincoln in the two following, successive presidential elections. He disliked and distrusted Lincoln, and all his great steps towards Emancipation. Such a man he was. Perhaps the most critical and decisive point in the great career of the Great Liberator, was when he took the resolution not to admit the seceding States back *with* slavery; and upon him, for this, Charles Hodge joined in the hue and cry. But in 1865, the position and influence of Dr. Hodge was not what it had been in the twenty-four years following 1836, and the country cared little then, and probably cares less now, what his opinion might be of Abraham Lincoln. The battle of freedom had been fought and nearly won despite him; and there is a satisfaction, rather than otherwise, in seeing victory come along with his final protest.—A. A. T.

NOTE. It is well, perhaps, to cite a high lay authority for the biblical sanction of slavery. Here is one:

"To maintain that slavery is in itself sinful, in the face of all that is written in the Bible on the subject, with so many sanctions of the relation by the Deity itself, does seem to me to be little short of blasphemous". *Alexander H. Stephens—"The War Between the States"*, vol. 2, p. 83, (1867).

"The abolitionists provoked a sudden revulsion of feeling in the South, and brought about a state of opinion which aimed to maintain slavery by texts of Scripture, by the teachings of Christ and his Apostles." —*Geo. Ticknor Curtis*, p. 277 vol. 2, *"Life of James Buchanan."*

FROM THOMAS O. LOWE, ESQ.

Anti-slavery sentiments give him pain. Thinks Dr. Thomas' views and record on the subject "unpatriotic in the extreme".

Dayton, O., 22 Oct., 1861.

I have no idea that the knowledge of the fact that several of your congregation differ widely with you in your views of slavery will induce you to modify your sentiments or your expressions upon this "vexed ques-

tion." But I cannot in justice to myself permit you to remain longer in ignorance of the fact that whenever you preach abolitionism you give me the greatest pain.

I freely accord you the right to entertain and express your opinions on this subject (and on all others), but at the same time I consider them unpatriotic in the extreme.

FROM REV. JOHN CROZIER.

An old student under Dr. MacMaster proposes to ask the Assembly to replace him in his old chair.

Olney, Ill., Nov. 22, 1861.

My dear Brother:

I see that Dr. Rice has accepted the call to New York. Brother Johnson of Peoria wrote me yesterday in anticipation of the acceptance, and the consequent vacancy of the Chair of Theology in the Northwest Seminary, and asks, "Would it be possible to have Dr. MacMaster elected to fill it?" What do you think of the measure? Does not every question; every consideration of private and public justice and right involved in the case, demand that something be now done? In this day of humiliation and rebuke, ought not the friends of truth to call for a re-affirmation of old testimonies? and demand that those brethren who have been cast down because of their unwavering adherence to principle should be restored to places whence they have been driven out? I think the friends of Rice and McCormick, who have three Professors, will feel willing for the sake of peace and harmony, to have the old friends and the Alumni represented by the former Professor of Theology. Would it not be well for the Alumni to join in a memorial to the Assembly?

I have another son; * * * * John MacMaster. Don't you think I have some moral courage to call a boy after an outcast?

FROM REV. E. D. MACMASTER, D. D.

Proposes to edit a monthly publication.

Monticello, Ind., Aug. 20, 1862.

My dear Brother:

An attack of inflammatory rheumatism, which has confined me to bed nearly the whole of July and a large part of the present month, and from which I am yet only partially recovered, has prevented an earlier acknowledgement of your favor of the 30th ult.

I felicitate you upon enjoyment of the green hills and pure air, and free thoughts of the Old Bay State. As to the heterodox theologies, and the petit ecclesiastical democracies of these Yankees, taceo. I hope you will come back from your visit to that brave old commonwealth replenished with health, and spirit, and life.

As for me, I am yet in Hoosierdom, and have my particular habitat in a nest infested with more than a usual share of these secessionists miscreants of the North.

> Woe's me that I in Meshech am
> A sojouner so long;
> That I in tabernacles dwell
> To Kedar that belong.

I hope to close up my farming operations for the season, and get away by the middle of October. When I tell you that I live thirty miles from my farm, and have seen it but once since the first of November, you will

judge how much I am enamored with the Georgies practical or poetical.

I give you hearty thanks for your list of subscribers to the projected monthly; and not less for your exposition of the Golden Candlestick and the Olive Trees. The latter I have not sent for, thinking it best it should remain in your own hands till it is more certain that I shall want it. The returns of subscribers' names received, are, on the whole, encouraging, ranging from sixty down to five, three, two, one, to each church; in all between 500 and 600; but they are not full enough to be decisive of the final result. From many to whom the prospectus was sent I will receive no returns; but there are many places not yet heard from, as Columbus, Springfield, Xenia, Urbana, West Liberty, Sidney, Indianapolis, Madison, Evansville, etc., from which responses more or less favorable may be expected. At the low price of one dollar we must have not less than 1200 subscribers to pay the expenses of publication and leave any balance for delinquencies and other contingencies. Whether so many will be obtained remains to be seen.

The course of public events furnishes food for reflection. The alleged purpose of Mr. Lincoln no longer to nurse slavery and coax the rebel slavocracy gives new hope to loyal men. Is it not amazing that over this black system of inquity, about which a few years ago we had our little conflicts, the whole country has been for a year and a half convulsed by a civil war; and that in three months two millions of armed men will be face to face in deadly strife over it in which it is to perish? Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty! just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints!

Present my salutations to Mrs. Thomas.

Yours truly and fraternally,

E. D. MacMaster.

VI

FROM HIS SISTER.

Stress of war times in Indiana: sons in the army. "Unless we proclaim liberty to the captives, our first-born must die".

Hanover, Ind., 15 Sep. 1862.

My dear Brother:

You say in your letter to mother, you have written to me: I am glad you have, though it never came, for I had nearly given up hope of more letters from you. You have no idea of the utter void in my house. My husband is in the midst of rebels at Cumberland Gap, now cut off from all communication by mail. He always wrote cheerfully as long as he wrote, but the last came many weeks since. My son Thomas, a lieutenant in the cavalry, is lying ill of typhoid fever at St. Louis, where our youngest boy is now nursing him. My son, Samuel, an officer of the Third Ind. Cav.: the paper to-day says thirty of his regiment were killed or wounded in an action in the army of the Potomac. My daughter's husband, Wm. Coulter, enlisted in Illinois, and brought his wife and little daughter here. Near Hanover College is a camp and battery, for they fear the rebels will cross the river. My confidence is in God alone; yet we deserve His wrath and cannot complain if He visit us with distress on distress. I feel as if we were all implicated in the guilt of slavery, and must be punished. What has our church done but connive at this sin? Some twenty years ago, we were aroused a little and bestirred ourselves; but finding all asleep around us, we were afraid to agitate for fear we would waken somebody, and so fell asleep ourselves. But God's vengeance slumbereth not; and I believe, unless we proclaim liberty to the captives, our firstborn must die. How long has He seen parents and children, brothers and sisters, separated and torn from each other, and no man regarded it? Now, in a terrible manner, He is bringing us to "remember those who are bound as bound with them." I am perplexed and distressed. I know "the name of the Lord is a strong tower, the righteous runneth into it and are safe." But where are the righteous? Surely not in these border States. Is there nothing we can do? Cannot our church, at least, take a bolder stand? I wish I had your opinion on this question.

Give my love to all your dear family, and believe me, as ever,

Mary T. Gilpin.

FROM HIS MOTHER.

Fears some slave-holder may get into her church communion, by guile. Wants to subscribe to Dr. MacMaster's magazine.

Hanover, Ind., Sept. 15th, 1862.

My dear Son:

It gave me great pleasure to hear of your welfare; and of your journey. You needed relaxation; and I rejoice that you are with a people who are so considerate: I trust your life may be spared to reward them in spirituals for their temporals. Give my best love to all I know and thank them for me, for their care of you. You mention a letter not received, but to make amends, Mary will enclose one with mine.

Yesterday we had the privilege of sitting around the table of the Lord, and I trust He was with us. Dr. Scott and an old minister of this neighborhood presided at the table. The Dr. preached a very able and faithful discourse from Eph. 1:7.

A day or two before the meeting, we found out there was a slaveholding family, come into your old house, from Kentucky; bringing an old slave with them, which by the bye, we heard they had tried to exchange or trade away, while on their route, for one younger: likewise that they had sold part of their slaves just before they came, and have others in reserve to sell. Your sister and myself felt disposed to withdraw from the communion, but had no opportunity of conversing with our ruler. Dr. Scott is very friendly; often visits us; but had gone to Indianapolis to fetch his wife. As usual, an invitation was given to communicants in good standing in sister churches: they communed: we likewise. We want your opinion on the subject. It is said he is a Union man; has a son in the Federal army: but we think we have as good a right to refuse church fellowship with a dealer in flesh and blood, as you had to refuse your pulpit to a suspected traitor, of which Dr. Scott gives us information. We shall talk with him about it when we have an opportunity.

Last Thursday night, we were aroused by a man crying the Rebels were crossing the Ohio, 1000 of them at Hanover landing. This you may be sure alarmed us: we gathered up some of our warm clothing and prepared for distress; but the Lord in his mercy relieved us by daylight, for the report proved unfounded. There were 1000 on the Kentucky side, but none attempted to cross but two or three spies who are in Madison jail. This aroused the neighborhood: our re-enforcements have come in, partly quartered upon the houses, all, *all* glad to take them. It is well the country responds so promptly to a call. Amidst all the confusion I think I can say my mind has been calm. The Lord is the actual ruler of nations, and I believe will overrule all for His own glory.

I wrote to Mrs. Esp. Cary, after her husband's death, and received kind reply. How does Dr. MacMaster's magazine succeed? Will you give him my name? Give my love to your Alfred—I admire his spirit. Ever your

MOTHER.

FROM HIS MOTHER.

In tress of war. "The Christian nation should be roused to importunate prayer for help." Meanwhile she helps feed soldiers and knits socks for the army.

Hanover, Ind., Oct. 13, 1862.

My very dear Son:

I received your package to-day, with your affectionate letter, which I answer at once.

In this time of need, I trust the Lord's people will send up volleys of incense from the altar which will produce powerful effects. Our Christian nation should be roused to earnest, importunate prayer for help. And He who carried His chosen people through the Red Sea, and swallowed up their enemies, can He not now destroy oppression and deliver the oppressed? I believe He is doing it, in His own way, for His own Glory. I should love to be in some of the praying assemblies, but find submission is my duty! Pray for me that the Lord would give me a thankful heart for all His gracious favors: it is true I am confined to the house, but abound in comforts. I am thankful for a quiet, peaceful home here. The religious privileges are very great. Drs. Wood and Jno W. Scott are faithful men: sixty students in the College; large day-school taught by a suitable teacher; very large and good Sunday School; prayer meetings frequent; female prayer meeting every week, and all well filled with the people generally attentive. Dr. J. W. Scott, boarding with Dr. Wood in Prof. Stone's house, often inquires after and longs to see you. We enjoy their society very much. Tomorrow the Soldiers' Aid Society meets here; your sister is making coats and I am knitting socks for the Army. Prof. Sturgus' family are left very poor. The young man, whose education is not completed, is seeking a school. Do you know of one for him? The widow, poor thing! she reminds me of my own family. When I look back to Oct. 9th, 1831, —Good is the Lord! He hath performed all His promises!! Blessed be His holy name!!!

Give my love to all your family. I am glad to hear of their welfare and well doing.

With much love and sincere affection, Your

MOTHER.

FROM HIS MOTHER—HER LAST LETTER.

Failing strength. Wants to be with her son when the end comes.

My dear Son: Hamilton, O., March 27th, 1863.

I have before my eyes this morning a sad scene; just now Jesse Corwin's son's body, brought home from Washington, where his uncle had procured him a situation as clerk to one of the Cabinets. He fell from a three-story building. Death has been making great inroads in this neighborhood. Old Mr. Ogden, you may remember him at Harrison, an Elder in Eaton Church, Geo. Dick's father-in-law, was buried here Monday. Old Mr. Reed of Hamilton likewise has gone. A letter, just come, says my brother, Monds, is numbered with the dead. * * * *

I am looking forward with pleasure to a permanent residence with you. My health and strength are, through great mercy, returning; still I have not left my room. Will you allow me to make some requests with regard to my future station. I am coming to an age when even "the grasshopper is a burden," therefore the most retired station is acceptable. As you have so many rooms, will you find me one retired from noise and interruption. I find both nature and grace demand retirement! and as needle work, probably, will be my principal employment, it is desirable I should be alone; lest haply, I should make the garment wrong side upwards! for sometimes my brain gets addled. Leaving joking aside, I want to feel quite at home.

Jerome Falconer (home wounded from the army) is reviving a little. I would like to hear John Woods preach here next Sabbath. His mother lately told me that he told her some of his first serious impressions were made in my school-room, under the church,—particularly the Lord's Prayer we at times sung in verse. I trust many more will compensate for my many years' labor in the school-room, although through much unfaithfulness.

Pray give my best love to all. Goodbye—my dear son,—may Jehovah! bless you, and crown all your efforts to His glory.

Your affectionate

MOTHER.

FROM CLARK MCDERMONT, M. D., AN ELDER IN HIS CHURCH.

"In a war hospital. Nephews wounded, lie six days without help, after Chickamaugua. Time just before Mission Ride. Colored nurses in hospital need help from Dayton.

My Dear Doctor: Cumberland Hospital, Nashville, Nov. 21, 1863.

* * * * My wife went to Chatanooga on the 12th inst., to see my nephew, William McDermont, who is in a hopeless condition with gun-shot fracture of the thigh. He lay on the ground with his wounded brother, for six days after the battle of Chickamauga, without food, shelter or attendance of any kind. They sucked the blades of grass to quench their thirst. On the fourth day the eldest brother died. He was but twenty years of age, and of much stronger constitution than William; but mortification at-

tacked his limb, and ended his suffering. It is painful in the extreme to contemplate the condition of those brave brothers lying side by side for six days without friend or food, or any protection from the rain and cold. The deceased, who was my namesake, was a youth of much promise. He had quit the University at Bloomington to accompany two younger brothers who enlisted as privates in the 82d Ind., and so great was his solicitude for the welfare of his brothers, that when I offered him a place as clerk in my office, he declined on the ground that they needed his care and companionship.

My hospital is the largest in the Department, and though I am assisted by sixteen Surgeons, I am kept as busy as a nailer. I enjoy the position very much, but could wish for more time to digest what I see, and to commune with my friends, many of whom, I presume, imagine I am dead. It seems barely possible that my quondam correspondents—Miss Rebecca Comley, Lizzie Johnson, Fannie Brown, etc.,—would so long deny me the pleasure of hearing from them, if they knew that I was alive, and would be greatly cheered by a letter from any of them. When one of them shall have the charge of sixteen hundred wounded Soldiers, I shall write her an epistle once a fortnight by way of encouragement. Please say this to them for me.

I feel some curiosity to know what the people north of the Ohio say of McCook and Rosecrans' removal from command. It was thought there would be great dissatisfaction among the troops: but it is remarkable how soon they became reconciled to it. I meet no one now who does not seem to feel that the change was for the best. McCook injured himself by attributing the order (openly) to the fact that he was not a good enough abolitionist, and saying other things disrespectful of the administration. Rosey is still admired, but there is a feeling that his luck had turned. The army has been heavily re-enforced, and troops are still arriving from the East. A Brigade of New York Cavalry arrived yesterday, and went into camp near the city. Sherman got up to Stevenson with his corps last week. Rousseau commands from the Cumberland to the Tennessee, and will soon have an immense force of mounted men. His Headquarters were established here to-day. Dana, the Assistant Secretary of War, is also to have his Headquarters at Nashville. Hooker had a sharp engagement yesterday; over 150 prisoners were brought up to-night.

I have a proposition which I wish to make to the good ladies of Dayton, through you. It is that they present the female contrabands of the Hospital under my charge, with new dresses on next Christmas. There are about fifty of them in all. They do all the washing for the wounded soldiers, and do it well and cheerfully, though miserably paid, owing to a misunderstanding of orders on the part of the disbursing officers. Some of them have been working for the government for the past seven months without receiving a cent of pay, and are almost destitute of clothing. Many of them have husbands enlisted in our army; none of them have any friends among the white ladies of Tennessee, and I wish them to feel that they have friends in Dayton. Will you and Dr. Spees put the needles in motion?

I was glad to hear the result of you late election of church officers. I hope the elders elected accepted. Give them the right hand of fellowship for me, and remember me affectionately to all the dear people of the dear old church.

TO HIS SON JOHN AT YALE.

"Blessed are ye that hunger now".

My dear Son: Dayton, O., 26 Dec. 1864.

Could you get your overcoat? Your sister sent some money to you, claiming she owed you some. We find much difficulty in

getting the funds to supply the expenses of two sons both at college; but do not hesitate to write me just how you are situated, financially, at any time. I do not wish you to be unnecessarily straightened; though you cannot have the ample means of some of your acquaintances. You may see, by and by, that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." (Lu. 12:15). "Blessed are ye that hunger now" (Lu. 6:21). I remember well the delight with which I once read, in my student days at Oxford, the lofty and precious word of Jesus, in Matt. 6:19-34, especially the latter part. More than the third of a century has passed since, having buried my beloved father, my best earthly friend, I was struggling through the remaining three years of my college course, on very scanty means indeed,—not *one* hundred dollars a year; when my Heavenly Father, in those words of his beloved Son, brought to my heart the assurance that He would provide for me. Blessed be His name! He has abundantly exceeded all my hopes; and I can confidently commit you, and my other dear ones to His gracious protection and care.

* * * * Mrs. Galloway's son has returned home from Southern imprisonment since the Chicamauga fight. He looks well. He saw Capt. Franklin Spencer well, the week before he left Columbia, S. C.

TO HIS SON.

From the Assembly, at St. Louis.

St. Louis, Mo., 18 May, 1866.

My dear Alfred:

You will not forget to use all possible economy in the expenditure of money. I could not have procured a suitable outfit and defrayed expenses here, but for the liberality of Mr. T. A. Phillips, (very unexpected, though very characteristic).

I have declined the offer of the Presidency of Miami University, which was tendered me by leading members of the Board of Trustees; partly because the salary would not support my family, and partly because the family are much attached to Dayton.

FROM REV. W. C. ANDERSON, D. D., FORMERLY PRESIDENT OF MIAMI UNIVERSITY.

At the Assembly at S.t Louis.

Cincinnati, 24 May, 1866.

We hold you, i. e., this General Assembly, responsible for the peace, progress, character, and general future of the old Presbyterian Church. You have begun nobly; all praise and honor to the stand taken, in relation to the Louisville Rebels. Many thanks for your speech.

Brother Thomas, treason is right, or it is wrong; the shedding of the life's blood of three hundred thousand of our brothers is right, or it is wrong. The advocates of this great fact are in harmony with the mind of

Jehovah, or they are not. They ought, under the rules of Jehovah's house, to repent, or they ought not. I have Boardman's speech, in the St. Louis Democrat; and never read a more assailable effusion. How I would like to take him on his assumed positions and false analogies.

Now, Brother Thomas E. Thomas, we are looking to you, who have done so well on the preliminary fight, to maintain the great principle of the last five Assemblies, and give us the argument, the appeal and all probable and possible sequences. Stand straight up to the last five Assemblies. Let all the Southern sympathizers go. Then urge on union with the New School Presbyterians. Don't be alarmed by the secession of the old Philadelphia-Princeton clique of pro-slavery men. Let them go: they have been the deep curse of the Old School church since 1845. A union with our New School brethren, now in perfect sympathy with us, will give us the grandest organization, especially if we can clear of the Hodge-Vandyke-Boardman school of Presbyterians. God bless you. Finish up the work that we may have peace in the future.

NOTE...Rev. Wm. C. Anderson, D. D., was born in Washington Co., Pa., in 1804; was graduated at Washington College in 1824. In 1829 he preached as a missionary at the Forks of the Yadkin in the mountains of North Carolina: he then became agent of the General Assembly Board of Missions, and visited the Presbyteries in Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi: he settled, as pastor, in New Albany in 1839, and then travelled in Central America. In 1843 he became Professor of Rhetoric in Hanover College; and two years later became pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Dayton, O. He then went to Europe, and while abroad was elected President of Miami University, which work he began in the fall of 1849, and resigned in 1854. He then became pastor at Chillicothe, and removed thence to a pastorate in San Francisco, which he resigned in 1863. He died in August 1870 and was buried at Junction City, Kansas.

Dr. Anderson was a man of tact, fine personal presence and most genial companionship. He was successful, but not persistent, in all he undertook. Without controversy or contention, he was a consistent anti-slavery man; and, perhaps more than any other, instrumental in the adoption of the "Spring Resolutions" by the General Assembly, at Philadelphia, in 1861.—A. A. T.

TO REV. E. D. MACMASTER, D. D.

Dr. MacMaster is replaced in his old chair at the Seminary. "The mills of the gods grind slowly," &c.

Dayton, Ohio, 11 June, 1866.

Reverend and Honored Sir,

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, during its recent sessions at St. Louis, Mo., entrusted to us, as a committee, the pleasing duty of informing you, that, by an almost unanimous vote, you have been elected Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology, in the Theological Seminary of the Northwest, at Chicago.

In making this appointment the Assembly were persuaded that they were rendering the highest service in their power to the cause of theolog-

ical education in our country. They felt, too, remembering your former labors in this western field, especially in this department of Christian work, that they were permitted, through the singular favor of divine providence, to perform an act of signal justice, not so much to yourself, as to the Church at large, that, through an influence now forever terminated, has been so long deprived of your service in a department which you are pre-eminently qualified to adorn.

The Assembly trusts that you will accept the call of the Church.

The salary attached to the Professorship is three thousand dollars a year.

With sentiments of sincere respect, and with Christian affection, we remain Yours, etc.

THOMAS EBENEZER THOMAS.
R. G. THOMPSON, of Chicago.
JNO. C. GRIER, of Peoria.
Committee

TO REV. E. D. MACMASTER, D. D.

Dayton, O., June 12, 1866.

My dear Brother:

I have just discharged an official duty which should have been performed a week ago; that of communicating to you a formal notification of your election as Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology in the Seminary of the Northwest at Chicago. Allow me now to unbosom myself, in a more familiar style, upon the occurrence of events which delighted the hearts of thousands. * * * *

Your election was another of the measures which fixed the character of the Assembly of 1866. Providence had singularly prepared the way for us. * * * *

Such was the composition of the Assembly, and such the change of public sentiment in these last years, that the suggestion of your name met very general approval. Mr. McCormick was soon aware that you would be chosen by a very large majority. Such was his displeasure at the proposed nomination of Dr. Lord, that he seemed disposed to accept Dr. MacMaster as a compromise. He was informed, however, very plainly, by such Elders as Williams of Ft. Wayne and Francis of Pennsylvania, (old friends), that he must not expect to be consulted by the Assembly as to the election of our theological teachers. Still, it was agreeable to your friends to find that, in the circumstances of the case, he found himself precluded from opposition to you.

When the election came on, Dr. Rice, (who had been nominated by the elder of his own church, Mr. Day;—and it was said that the church would back the nomination with a gift of $20,000.), telegraphed his withdrawal. He had not the ghost of a chance. Dr. Lord did the same, for the same reason; perhaps other reasons. You received over 200 votes.

It was an old Greek saying, as you remember, that *"the mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small"*. Divine

providence has hastened the revolutions of these last days. Who could have foreseen seven years ago so rapid a change of situation as that which the North and the South now present? You predicted the issue, indeed as many of us anticipated it; but when you promised to meet Thornwell and Palmer at Philippi, I think you scarcely looked for so early and so radical a revolution of public sentiment as that we now witness.

You will be aided at Chicago by a valuable body of co-laborers, in Drs. Halsey, Lord and Elliott. Your presence will draw around the Seminary the sympathy and aid of the Northwest, and of Indiana and Ohio, as nothing else could. I have no question that the number of students, already encouraging, will be greatly increased, and the rapidly growing wealth of this region will supply what is needful toward endowment.

I think I need not add further considerations. The eastern brethren, except a few ultra-conservatives, who are fast finding their level, are heartily for you. The church feels that it owes you reparation for a long course of injustice; and, much more, that it owes to the truth, and to the cause of sound christian education, your restoration to that department of labor for which you are so peculiarly qualified.

Ever truly yours, T. E. THOMAS.

FROM REV. E. D. MACMASTER, D. D.

My dear Sir: Poland, Ohio, July 10, 1866.

I send herewith to you a letter addressed to the committee of the General Assembly of which you are chairman, signifying my acceptance of the appointment to the Theological Seminary at Chicago. As a matter of taste and propriety, in ordinary circumstances, I should prefer a short note, simply declaring my acceptance. But it is to be remembered that there has been over the affair of this Seminary a huge war, extending through more years than our great civil war, though the war itself was not of quite as great proportions; and that sharp and heavy blows were dealt and wounds inflicted which are not yet healed. With those who are now the defeated party it is a question of how they are to be regarded and treated under the new order of things. My view is that the truth which has so long been the suffering truth, has paramount rights; among other things, the right to assert itself to be the truth and to have always been the truth. On the other hand, if those who in other years acted so badly are disposed now to act rightly, they are not to be repelled, but conciliated; and least of all are petty revenges to be taken against them. Briefly to indicate this as my own view, and, so far as I may be regarded as made by the late appointment to the Seminary the representative of those with whom I have heretofore acted, as their view also, is the object of my letter. It seems to be desirable that this should be understood by all concerned, at the outset of my connection anew with the Seminary.

I have found more difficulty in coming to a conclusion on the question of returning to this service than you may think. The state of my mind is exactly expressed when I say that "I do not see that under all the conditions of the question I am at liberty to decline this appointment, and therefore I accept it." How unfit I feel myself for such a work, He only knows to whom all things are known. Let me, my dear brother, have the help of your prayers.

FROM REV. E. D. MACMASTER, D. D., HIS LAST LETTER.

Hopes and plans for the Seminary at Chicago.

Poland, Ohio, Aug. 28, 1866.

My dear Brother:

Your favor of the 7 inst., came duly to hand and was most acceptable, as your letters always are.

You say your people gave for the endowment of the Theological Seminary less than you hoped, and you seem to think, less than they ought. I have never thought what they, or any other people or person, were likely to give. But if I had thought of it at all. I should not have expected a larger sum than that you name. I have often thought that the feeling of reluctation to part with money, of men with whom it has been a large part of the business of their lives to make money, is probably not duly appreciated by persons who, like you and myself, have never made this any part of our business, and to whom the obtaining of what was required for necessary uses came as a mere incident of other employments, and almost without a thought about it, except when, as has sometimes happened to me, there chanced to be a deficit of it to meet present wants. However this may be, the Seminary is under obligation to your good people for their contribution: and, as the present contributions are spoken of in connection with the endowment of the chair I am called to occupy, though I expect my usufructuary interest in it not to be of very long duration, I ought to feel a special obligation, which I am not indisposed to acknowledge. The Seminary wants $150,000 to endow fifty scholarships: and $50,000 for other uses, a Library fund, a Contingent fund, etc. The high cost of living at Chicago necessitates some provision to reduce the expense to students. It will not do to depend for this on annual collections. This would involve the expense of agency, and the churches would become weary of annual solicitations. Hence the need of permanent funds for these objects.

But we much more need an increased activity in the appropriate agency for finding a larger number of candidates for the ministry, not a crowd indiscriminately gathered, the good, the bad, and indifferent, but such as are called of God to do this work, and for taking care of their culture and training every way, in learning and in the divine life, before they go to the Theological Seminary and while in it. This, I think, is now our greatest want. Will you turn your thoughts to it?

I leave this place for Chicago to-morrow, (29th), via Pittsburgh and Ft. Wayne, and hope to reach my destination on Monday, the 3d of September. Somehow I do not go with a very bouyant spirit. My temperament has always disposed me to cleave to old friends rather than to seek new ones; and this, as you will suppose, is not less so now than thirty years ago. I should go with much more satisfaction, if *you* were going also. Indeed, I feel in this respect a dissatisfaction. You, as well as I, were proscribed seven years ago, and for the same cause: and it is due to you and the church and the truth, that you should be recalled to the service from which you were then relieved. I have this much at heart. I know not what may be found practicable immediately. Of course I can do nothing inconsistent with the relations into which I am put with the professors now in the Seminary. But,—but,—but, we must think of this matter. We ought to have a fifth Professor. Cannot we move for this soon?

Give my best regards to Mrs. T. and all your house, especially my friend, John.

Yours most truly,

E. D. MacMaster.

The McCormick Seminary at Chicago. Sketch of its history and hope. Remarkable character of Cyrus H. McCormick. No Political sense,—but he cheapened the bread of the world. "All the keys hang not at one man's girdle."

NOTE. "The McCormick Theological Seminary" at Chicago. The course which Dr. Thomas said Dr. Nathan L. Rice "must be permitted to run at Chicago" lasted just eighteen months, when he left this Seminary, never to return. If the times singularly favored him in 1859, a Nemesis, in subsequent events, was quickly upon him; for 1861 was a bad time to establish a pro-slavery outpost, so far removed from support, and in the distant Northwest.

While Dr. Rice departed, the Seminary remained; and a few words about this institution, destined, probably, to be the first in influence in the Presbyterian Church, will not be out of place. In the best biography of Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick, the statement is made that "he founded the Theological Seminary of the Northwest". He funded it, but he did not found it. This correspondence shows who nursed and tended its infancy and prevented its extinction, or transfer to Danville, where it would have gone into practical or ultimate extinction. Of course, everybody ought to come to Chicago if he can, but to see this in 1857 required more foresight than to recognize the fact in 1892. The Seminary might have had an unexampled prosperity had the plans of Drs. Thomas and MacMaster been carried out and the land then offered it,—situate in Hyde Park,—been accepted. That land is now worth several million dollars: Dr. Grey, Editor of "The Interior," lately stated, that if this property had been taken and held, the Seminary would have been the wealthiest educational institution in the United States.

No one, not even Dr. L. J. Halsey, who has written a yet unpublished history of this Seminary, has any wish to narrate the contentions which followed Dr. Rice's removal to New York; so bitter did they become, that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church released Mr. McCormick from the latter half of his original bond of donation, which was never paid. But, in 1871, Dr. Halsey says, Mr. McCormick became reconciled to the Seminary; his liberality was renewed and repeated, until, with the approval of all parties, the General Assembly of the Church decreed that the institution should forever bear the name of this remarkable man.

Cyrus Hall McCormick, of Scotch-Irish descent, was born in 1809, in Rockbridge County, Va. In 1816, his father contrived a machine which could cut standing grain. His son followed the line of his father's old investigations, and found a solution of his problem in an invention that gave a lateral as well as a forward motion furnished by the horses; and, after long difficulty, practical success came when he gave the lateral motion by means of a

crank to a staight cutting blade placed at right angles to the line of draft of the machine. This was in 1831. In 1839, his Reaper began to go into general use. In 1845, he removed to Cincinnati; here he met Dr. Nathan L. Rice, prominent and active in fighting the pro-slavery conflict in the Presbyterian Church, of which Mr. McCormick was already a member. In 1847, he removed to Chicago, where, two years later, his brothers, Wm. S., and Leander J., joined him. With their efficient help he quickly founded a great fortune at Chicago, at a time when fortunes there were neither numerous nor great. With great success there came, as there always come in such cases, men eager to seize upon and dispute the right to his inventions. The latter were indisputable, although they were imperfectly protected by patents. In the litigation and printed controversies that ensued, Mr. McCormick discovered an ability, persistence and sagacity which was recognized throughout the business world of Europe as well as of America. With the growth of his strength and fortune, the politics, which was then only the slavery controversy, of this country, greatly interested him. He was a staunch, perhaps the best and most liberal friend of Stephen A. Douglass; in his interest he went to the Democratic Convention at Baltimore in 1860, and he followed his fortunes up to the day when Senator Douglass announced to the people of Illionois that "the quickest road to peace was stupendous preparation for war". Thereafter, of all men who were purely business men, Cyrus H. McCormick was perhaps, for a time, the most dangerous in the United States. In 1864, during the McClellan canvass, he was candidate for Congress, in Chicago, and was defeated by the general patriotic uprising there. He proposed that the democratic party, by convention, should select a "commission" to meet a similar delegation from the south, to end the war and restore the Union. Who can exaggerate the cost to humanity on this continent of the success of such a scheme! It was only refrained from by the certainty of the arrest and imprisonment of any attempting to carry it out. Mr. McCormick was no Secessionist or disunionist; yet there was no length he would not go, to save his beloved institution of slavery. But, after all, we must not blame him too severely. He was no worse than thousands of good men of his day, of like opinions. He had not fomented rebellion or secession; he was not a politician or a statesman. The fact is, with almost every other merit, he had no political sense. He said, "The two strongest hoops which held the Union together were the Democratic Party and the Old School Presbyterian Church." Strong hoops they, when the strain came!

How true it is that "all the keys hang not to one man's girdle"! The portrait of McCormick hangs in the hall of the institution he endowed, and no one can help liking that face. His memory is held high in honor among citizens of this community

whose opinion is most worth asking. He was, indeed, one of the great captains of industry. His invention, developed by himself and others, directly, and by countless indirect ways, enriched the whole Northwest. More than this I place to his honor; for he probably did more than any other one man who ever lived to cheapen the bread of the world.—A. A. T.

TO HIS DAUGHTER—MRS. EDWIN A. PARROTT.

On his son's graduation at Dartmouth College. Things liked, and disliked.

Mr. Jabez Fisher's, Washington, N. H., 23 July, 1867.

My dear Mary May:

Your mother and I reached Hanover, as you may have heard from the children, by Saturday noon. Alfred met us at the cars, and took us directly to Dr. Noyes. The Professor, wife, and daughter, constitute the family; though the younger son and wife were home on a visit. We could not have fallen on a pleasanter home for a few days. Dr. Noyes has been the theological Professor at Dartmouth for seventeen years. He is one year older than I am; a quiet, thoughtful, scholarly man, with a pleasant humor running through his lighter conversation. We had many delightful talks, reminding me of my long conversations with Dr. MacMaster at New Albany.

The commencement exercises were highly creditable. Monday evening was occupied with prize declamation. I was one of those who composed the committee to award the prizes. Tuesday was Class-day, as they call it: the exercises being such as are appointed by the graduating class. An Oration, and Poem; with Chronicles and Prophecies relating to the college history, and future career of the class, occupied several hours. The Chronicles and Prophecies were flat, and unworthy of the occasion; the wit being such as could be appreciated only by the students; and the general tone of the pieces rather low. The first two pieces, however, were admirable. Wednesday was devoted to the orations of invited guests. Dr. Quint of Newburyport addressed the theological society. I did not hear him; having driven over the mountains for ten or twelve miles that morning, and feeling disposed to rest. Theodore Tilton, editor of the New York Independent, delivered the address to the Societies. He spoke without notes. His style was not superior to many extempore efforts I have heard in Ohio —his delivery rather energetic than graceful—and on the whole falling below what I had expected. The matter of his discourse was deadly poison; shallow, conceited, pretentious, and false. His theme was Mental and Moral Self-culture. He began by saying that we had done what the Psalmist thought impossible! "We have bound the sweet influences of Pleiades;"—quoting the language of the Almighty, (Job 38-31) as the utterance of the Psalmist. His whole discourse substituted self-culture for spiritual renovation. It was a scarcely concealed infidelity, from beginning to end: a sad result of Ward Beecher's religious teaching. And this man was for years the superintendent of Beecher's sabbath school!

Your affectionate father,

T. E. Thomas.

TO HIS SON.

"The General Assembly of 1871. Chicago seen from two points of view.

My dear Alfred: Chicago, Ill., 26 May, 1871.

I returned yesterday from our Presbyterian Assembly's excursion to Lake Forest. Almost all the body went, and friends increased the crowd to about two thousand. Over sensitive people may possibly condemn a venerable body like a General Assembly for spending a day in such frivolous employment as excursions and collations and speechmaking; but whoever will sit six hours a day in the Assembly, for a week; and spend no small part of the outside hours in committee work; besides conducting correspondence and holding important interviews with scores of people, friends and strangers; will vote for such a recreation as we enjoyed yesterday with a clear conscience, and hearty good will.

Mr. Mayor Farwell, the merchant prince of Chicago; himself a Methodist, but his wife a Presbyterian; planned the trip, and footed the bills. This was Chicago-like. If he desired to show a few special friends his house and grounds, it was excusable; for they have few rivals in the West; and his private library is one of the largest and most valuable in the country. You may find an account of the trip under the title of "Editorial Correspondence" in the next Herald and Presbyter; for my roommate, Dr. Monfort, being prevented from writing, just now, by a boil on his right hand, I have consented to supply his lack of service by a letter. It was written, however, at 10 p. m., after our return from the trip, having been on our feet most of the time since 9 a. m.

Chicago will be admired, or execrated, according to the point of view from which you regard it. If a colored Jehu, with a glossy hat and white gloves, in a velvet coat and light inexpressibles, drive you in an elegant barouche, with a charming Chicago-enne beside you, to point out the elegant gentleman's seats—it is no matter which noun the adjective qualify—and her husband, the happy proprietor of numberless land—and water—lots, before you, to indicate the rapid steps of the city's growth by the ever appreciating value of the properties you pass;—if he drive, I say, at a dashing pace down Michigan Avenue, and up Wabash, between the long lines of massive, marble palaces, adorned with all that wealth can procure; remember, however, that real happiness is an article not to be found in any of Chicago's princely shops—for sale, I mean;—if you roll over the Nicholson boulevard pavement, with broad sidewalks on each side, flanked by grassy lawns and overhanging trees;—you will pronounce Chicago, next to New York, the most brilliant product of American skill in the art of city-building; and readily crown her the Queen of the Prairies!

But if you ride or walk for miles, as we did yesterday, beyond the inky, stinking, horrible Styx, which they call "Chicago River"; through an endless series of frame houses, resting in the mud; separated by streets of natural earth, cut up even now into deep ruts, and knee-deep in mud; into streets guiltless of sidewalk or shade tree; the young inhabitants barefoot and bareheaded, and unkempt and unwashed, and almost undressed, crawling like tadpoles in the slime of their native pools; the older,—every woman with a babe on her arms, and every man with a sign of his handicraft; if you saw cows milked on sidewalks of board, because the street was too muddy to be hazarded; if you surveyed the miles on miles of squalor and poverty and wretchedness rolled on a dead level, and prepared by such an endless variety of smells that a friend yesterday said the census of them should be published among the statistics of Chicago,—you would report that this famous city is the filthiest stew of human cattle you ever had the misfortune to visit!

Respect to Judge Jordan. Affectionately your Father,

THO. E. THOMAS.

Failing strength. Thinks the success of the Apostles due to immediate training of the Master.

Middlebury, Vt., 18 Aug. 1874.

Many thanks for your repeated and pressing invitations.

I have been troubled with irregularity of the liver since April. Till I came here the downward progress was steady. Since I came, that has been arrested, and the tide turned. I am told there is no organic disease, nor any reason for a permanent disability. It is my expectation that the seaside will complete what the mountain air has begun. I hope to return home by the middle of September: our Seminary term opens at Lane on Sept. 9th, but I may conclude to spend the latter part of September at Red Sulphur Springs, Va. In that case, I shall pass over the New Jersey road on my way to Washington, and nothing would delight me more than to meet you once more. I long to talk with you over the past, and especially the future.

The Kingdom of our blessed Lord is assailed on every side, and worst of all, from within, and must fight a fierce battle before the final victory comes. Come it will, and glorious will be the reward of those of you who shall be called of God to bear testimony for the truth as it is in Jesus, against a gainsaying and godless generation. Not that all generations since the fall have not deserved the description; but the Scriptures intimate that in the last days, perilous times shall come, (2 Tim. 3: 1-9, and 2 Thess. 2: etc.). Certainly the signs of the times, while displaying a wider diffusion of the gospel than ever, also exhibit an unwonted outbreak of hostility to sound doctrine; of contempt for the Word of God; of bold, unblushing infidelity, as well as cool, audacious atheism. Well, "The Lord reigneth: let the earth rejoice"! If "Clouds and darkness are bound about Him", we are also sure that "Righteousness and judgment are the habitation of His throne".

The Lord raise up and qualify a multitude of faithful men, able to teach others, being themselves taught of the Lord! Was not the unparalleled success of the Apostles due to the immediate training which they had received from our Divine Master? Oh, that He would condescend once more to train His own servants for the work of the ministry!

Mrs. T. joins me in affectionate remembrance of Mrs. Symmes and yourself and family.

NOTE. Rev. Joseph G. Symmes grew up on a farm in Butler County, O.; joined Dr. Thomas's church in Hamilton; attended Farmers' College, and with his mother and brother removed to Hanover, Ind., in order to attend the college there. His mother died of the visitation of cholera, which carried off Dr. Scovel, the

President of the institution. Mr. Symmes was there in attendance when Dr. Thomas's Presidency began. He and my father, as teacher and pupil, always maintained the warmest friendship.—A. A. T.

TO HIS SON. HIS LAST LETTER.

Kemper Lane, Walnut Hills, Cin'ti, O., 18 Dec. 1874.

My dear John: * * * *

You know, perhaps, that ever since I came home, I have been aiding Dr. Smith in reviewing his translation of Spinoza's Ethica, the celebrated source of modern pantheism. The Doctor reads his version, while I follow the Latin original to correct any slips of the eye, or pen; which are wonderfully few, to be sure. I enjoy the work, for it has given the impulse to review former studies in this line; as Cicero says; *retuli me * * * * ad ea studia, quae, retenta animo, remissa temporibus, longo intervallo intermissa, revocavi.* (Tusc. Quaest. 1:1.) I began with Spinoza's Summary of Des Cartes, his master; with Kant's Critique of Pure Reason; and with Chalybaus History of Speculative Philosophy—from Kant to Hegel. These I read *pari passu,* at quiet intervals. * * *

Our love to all. Affectionately your Father,

THO. E. THOMAS.

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